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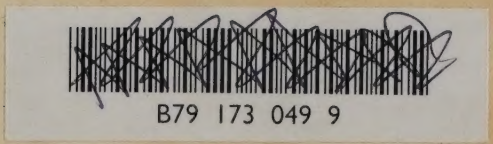
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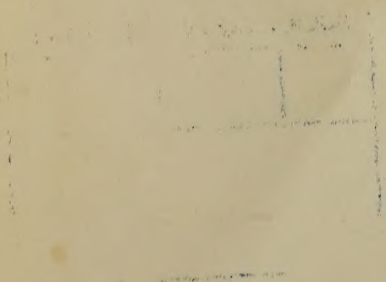

RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,

OR PAPERS AND NOTES ON THE

HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE COUNTY.

TOGETHER WITH TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Architectural and Archæological Society

FOR THE

COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

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PREFACE.

THE commencement of the fifth Volume of the "RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE" calls for a few remarks from me, as your Honorary Secretary. It is desirable that I should give the members a brief statement of the *work, progress,* and *present position* of the Society. I confidently rely on your kind and indulgent acceptance of my endeavour to give a true and faithful report.

The object for which the Society was originally formed has been steadily kept in view, and during its existence it has accomplished much useful *work* in collecting such materials, and promoting such measures, as may assist in the compilation or illustration of a history of the County, and in diffusing a taste for the revival of architectural and ecclesiastical art. Before its foundation, in the year 1847, many discoveries of relics, illustrative of art or domestic life in times past, had been made, some of which, being but of small or purely local interest, were soon forgotten; whilst others of greater interest excited wonder for a slightly longer period, and then in their turn were forgotten. A record of such discoveries is of permanent value and great local interest, and may serve to enrich the pages of some future historian of the County. The Society, therefore, has been of eminent service, not only in collecting as accurate a list of these as possible, but in exploring the past, and preserving what is passing in the present, for future inquirers. And

this is especially necessary in this age of swift transition, when the general enclosure and cultivation of waste lands, the formation of railways, and other circumstances, have a great tendency to sweep away all memorials of the past.

The *work* of the Society has also been devoted to the promotion of the restoration of churches. It would be impossible for any one to traverse the County without being sensible of the increasing attention bestowed on its ancient architectural remains, and the greatly improved aspect and ecclesiastical character of the restored and newly-built churches. The Society has made annual excursions in the County which may prove gratifying reminiscences in future times to those who attended them; and whether the visits were made to a large town or small village, they have been attended with most beneficial results; and hence many, who had never known anything of their own parish church, nor ever seen much to admire in it, have been led to examine it more closely, and to value it more highly as the House of God.

The *progress* made by the Society since its formation has been very satisfactory. It has steadily increased in numbers and usefulness. The roll of members during the first year of its existence contained only 55 names, whereas now it contains 245. Although various circumstances hindered its rapid progress the first few years, it still exercised some of its most useful functions with the prospect of a speedy prosperity and usefulness. In the year 1854 it was thought desirable, in order to preserve a record of the fruits of its labours, to publish a Journal, which should contain papers and notes illustrative of the history, antiquities, and architecture of the County, as well as a record of the Society's transactions. These Journals, now forming four volumes, have from time to time been issued free to the members. In the year 1862

the Society, having received many donations to its library and small collection of vestigia, secured a convenient and appropriate room in Church Street, Aylesbury, and fitted it up as a depository for its property, where the members might have an opportunity of reading and borrowing the books. The Society has lost no opportunity which presented itself of increasing the stores both of its museum and library. Amongst its greatest benefactors I may mention the Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield, Z. D. Hunt, Esq., the Rev. A. Isham, and the Misses Hamilton. I trust I may be excused if I appeal to the members and the County generally for further donations in aid of the work which has progressed thus far so satisfactorily.

With regard to the *present position* of the Society, I have much satisfaction in stating that it has now acquired by its publications, as compared with other local, historical, and topographical works, a status in the County, and holds no mean place in the goodly number of kindred institutions throughout the provinces. I hope it will continue to maintain its reputation in the archæological, architectural, and historical notes and papers which it publishes, in the account it gives of its proceedings, as well as in its letter-press and illustrations.

The Society has published several valuable papers and accounts of many interesting memorials and local details of the past, which have contributed to England's long and glorious history, and to the building up of the English kingdom and nation. Many are the historic associations connected with our inland County, which has been successively inhabited by Briton and Roman, Saxon and Dane. The traveller by railway through the peaceful and fertile vale of Aylesbury, gliding along at the foot of the Chiltern Hills, will observe the prominent White Leaf Cross, and meditate on the associations connected with it; he will notice the long range of beech

woods on the hills, which were formerly infested with bands of freebooters, and will call to mind the acceptance of the Royal Appointment of the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds by a member of the Lower House of Parliament for the protection of the country, but which is now a sinecure; he will think of the British trackway called the Icknield Way; the great territorial boundary of Grimsdyke running from the hills in Oxfordshire across the Chilterns on to Berkhamsted Common in the adjoining county of Hertfordshire; the numerous barrows, or sepulchral tumuli; the sites of camps and fortifications, as Kimble Castle, the reputed residence of the British King Cunobeline, or Cymbeline; and the monuments of the long period of the Middle Ages, as the religious house of the Monks of Risborough, and the castle of the chivalrous Black Prince at Princes Risborough, erected probably for the purpose of hunting on the Chilterns. Or as he passes along the tracks of the Roman roads, which run across the County from Tring to Bicester, and from Dunstable to Daventry, he will call to mind what Britain was formerly, and endeavour to realise the scenes and men the neighbourhood witnessed since that distant day. For instance, out of that long list, the British Chief Cunobeline, whose coins were found in hundreds in Whaddon Chase in the year 1849, some of which the members can see in our County Museum; the Roman Emperor Claudius, with his legionary cohorts and elephants tramping along to the astonishment of the inhabitants, taking possession of the country; the great heroine Queen Boadicea and her Iceni sweeping down with dire revenge, for fearful wrongs, the Roman Colonies and all who opposed her; the great struggles which existed both at and before the Norman Conquest; and the conflicts which raged between King and Parliament, Cavalier and Roundhead.

All these and a variety of other scenes and thoughts

will be present to the mind of the traveller, versed in our local history, as he traverses the County. He will be compelled to confess that a Society which has collected such a store of information, has not existed in vain.

Neither has the work of the restoration of churches been standing still in our archdeaconry of Buckingham, but has been pushed forward so rapidly during the last few years, that there are comparatively few churches which have not been more or less in the hands of the architect or builder. Indeed so much has been done that it has come within the province of our Society to urge the preservation of every part, even that which was apparently of no particular use, of the ancient work, which will serve as illustrations of observances, now perhaps obsolete, or of customs long since disused. Every part is of great value to the student of history and manners in times when the customs of religion were most strictly adhered to. The Society has published a report of the restoration of some churches, but it has not been able to do so in every case.

I would also notice the advance in domestic architecture in the many new buildings erected in the County for private or public purposes. They are in a more pleasing style than that previously adopted, and claim attention from their imposing elevations and artistic treatment.

Although the Society has attained a position of great usefulness, it still requires the patronage and assistance of the generous and enlightened minds of the nobility, gentry, and clergy of the County, who must all acknowledge that there is a great dignity as well as pleasure in the pursuit of the study of archæology and architecture, and especially in the search of historic truth. I would bespeak the aid and co-operation of all the members of the Society in exerting their influence for the preservation of any antiquities that may be brought to light in

the County, and in encouraging the sending of them to the Museum in Aylesbury as a central depôt where all students may see them for the purpose of comparison or for making drawings. Something may be done by all, much by many, to further the interests of the Society, and to add to the attractions and usefulness of its proceedings. With such help, the Society will doubtless attain a *position* of still greater prosperity and usefulness, give satisfaction to its promoters and supporters, and assist in throwing light, by its investigations, on the history of human progress.

CHARLES LOWNDES.

HARTWELL RECTORY, *January*, 1878.

THE ENGLAND OF FORMER DAYS.

A Lecture delivered for the Wycombe Free Library, in 1876.

BY JOHN PARKER, JUN.

With some of us, perhaps, the most intense curiosity is to know how the generations of the past lived. We have heard the history of their governments, of their kings, but this is the shell; the domestic life, the habits of the people, is as the kernel of the story. The most interesting spots on earth are, perhaps, the excavated cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, because there, before our own eyes, we see the realities of a bygone age, as the events of every-day life were suddenly arrested by the awful visitation which effaced their names for centuries from human memory. When we think of such cities as Athens, how should we delight to dive into the secrets of the every-day existence of the learned Athenian? Probably some of us in a practical age wonder how he could afford to indulge his fancy, to occupy the day in refined disputations; and without the aid of the unpaid slave—the Helot—no doubt much of the cultivation and learned leisure, and, consequently, the literature of Greece, would have been lost. But our subject is confined to our own country. In the short space of an hour's lecture it is impossible to do more than to touch upon a subject full of deep interest; to take up a fragment here and there of the lives, habits, laws, manners, and customs of our forefathers, and this must be my apology for dealing unsystematically with that, which should receive a most regular treatment.

A difficulty arises at once, when we speak of our forefathers, for our mixed race makes us sceptical of our ancestry. The barrows on our hill-tops, the cromlechs, Stonehenge, all these evidences of the work of human effort, speak of a people having no affinity with ourselves, a Celtic race that has passed away from the spots it once

possessed. Then we are reminded of the Roman occupation, but we cannot boast that Latin blood flows through our veins. It is singular to reflect, that shortly after the Christian era this island, then a Roman colony under the surpassing rule of the great Western Empire, was well defended, and to which the luxury of Rome was transported, that the Roman villas were scattered over the country, and in them might be found all the elegancies of life, all the tastes which civilization of a very high order could invent; and yet the Roman roads, traces of fortifications, some sculpture, pottery, and coins, these are the solitary evidences of the Roman occupation of England. The ruthless race that succeeded the Romans had no eye for beauty, no notion of the comforts of life, for its German forest-life taught nothing but what was very stern, very real, and very pitiless. That race claims us, for the most part, as our true parents, and we are not ashamed of our parentage, we rejoice in our Anglo-Saxon origin. Let me here quote to you a passage from the late lamented Professor Kingsley in one of his lectures before the University of Cambridge, which is a very apt comment on my previous remarks:—

"Menzel, who, though he may not rank very high as a historian, has at least a true German heart, opens his history with a striking passage.

"'The sages of the East were teaching wisdom beneath the palms; the merchants of Tyre and Carthage were weighing their heavy anchors and spreading their purple sails for far seas; the Greek was making the earth fair by his art; and the Roman founding his colossal empire of force, while the Teuton sat, yet a child, unknown and naked among the forest beasts; and yet unharmed, and in his sport he lorded it over them, for the child was of a royal race, destined to win glory for all time to come.'

"To the strange and complicated education which God appointed for this race, and by which He has fitted it to become at least for many centuries henceforth, the ruling race of the world, I wish to call your attention. To-day I wish to impress strongly on your minds the childishness of our forefathers. For good or for evil they were great boys, very noble boys, very often very naughty boys, as boys with the strength of men might well be. Try to conceive such to yourselves, and you have the old Markman, Allman, Goth, Lombard, Saxon, Frank; and the notion may be more than a mere metaphor. Races, like individuals, it has been often said, may have their childhood, their youth, their manhood, their old age, and natural death. It is but a theory, perhaps nothing more. But at least our race had its childhood. Their virtues and their sad failings and failures I can understand on no other theory. The nearest type which we can see now is, I fancy, the English sailor, or the English navvy. A great simple, honest baby, full of power and fun, very coarse and plain-spoken at times, but if treated like a human being, most affectionate, susceptible, even sentimental and superstitious; fond of gamb-

ling, brute excitement, childish amusements in the intervals of enormous exertion ; quarrelsome among themselves, as boys are, and with a spirit of wild independence which seems to be strength, but which, till it be disciplined into loyal obedience and self-sacrifice, is mere weakness ; and beneath all a deep *practical shrewdness*, an indomitable perseverance, when once roused by need. Such a spirit as we see to this day in the English sailor, that is the nearest analogue I can find now."

It is of this *deep practical shrewdness* which I wish to speak for a few minutes. We can recognize it in the customs which still prevail amongst ourselves. When our Saxon forefathers wished to impress any facts upon the minds of others, they took care that what they intended to convey should be felt, and so when they wished to perpetuate the limits of a district they did not call to their aid a skilled surveyor and mapster, but they first fixed the boundary lines in their own minds' eye, and then set upon the business of making it known and remembered for many a long year. This was easily accomplished by what is termed "beating the boundaries." It is a familiar custom with us—it has descended to us. We are indeed indebted to our rude grandsires for the idea. Perhaps the district boundary crosses a stream. The most effectual way of perpetuating this point of demarcation is to immerse the youngest of the company, who are charged with the duty of "meeting the bounds," or some unfortunate youthful bystander, into this particular water, or to chastise another at a wall or fence, or some particular spot, which it would be otherwise difficult to remember. Sometimes the most important person of the locality is rudely dealt with during the perambulation to impress him, and through him, the whole community for generations to come, with the limits, which it is desired to indicate.

Many other customs, showing this practical shrewdness, have thus been handed down to us. Take, for instance, the village stocks, no doubt of Saxon origin. If a man would stray from the paths of sobriety, the wisest course, it was thought, was thus to effectually check his heedless steps. If a coward beat his wife, the best course to shame him was to expose him to his neighbours by the strains of what is termed rough music, persistently played before his unhappy home—a punishment still inflicted on such delinquents, to my own

knowledge, in Oxfordshire villages. But there are still more important legacies bequeathed to us by our Saxon forefathers. The territorial division of this country can, it is believed, be traced back to the first age of the settlement of the Saxons in England * Our counties, our further subdivisions into Hundreds, consisting at least of a hundred families, and the tything—the hamlet of at least ten families. Over each of these divisions originally presided the count, earl, or alderman over the county, the Hundreden over the Hundred, and the Decanus or Tithingman over the tithing. This divisional government, under the control of the Assembly of Freemen, known as the Witenagemot, or meeting of the wise men, the root from which has sprung our modern English Parliament under the headship of a king—sometimes elective, sometimes hereditary—is another proof of practical shrewdness. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon us that to trace the origin of our love for liberty, we must look back to the remote period of our history, which is now engaging our attention. You have only to reflect a moment to comprehend the great Teutonic race of the present day—the peoples of Germany, of our own country, and the offshoots of America—a race always aspiring, successfully or no, with many advantages, and possibly at times with disastrous results, for liberty, politically and religiously, comparing in these respects very favourably with the Latin races. And the secret of this dogged love of right—this self-assertion—must be traced to a common parentage—the *shrewd practical Saxon ancestor*. But I am rather travelling from my original purpose, and will pursue this topic no farther.

The most interesting evidences of the manners and habits of the Saxon period are to be gained from two sources of inestimable value. The one is the collection of illustrations in the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, the other the Bayeux Tapestry. The MSS. we should all have readier access to than a sight of the tapestry, therefore I will say a few words on the latter remarkable piece of needlework, which is to be seen, I believe, at the Hotel of the Prefecture of the old Nor-

* Pic. Hist. of England, vol. i., p. 249.

mandy city of Bayeux. "It is a roll of linen 20 inches broad and 214 feet in length, on which is worked with woollen thread of different colours, a representation in seventy-two distinct compartments, the whole history of the Norman Conquest of England from the departure of Harold for Normandy to the rout of the Saxons at the battle of Hastings. . . . Every compartment has a superscription in Latin indicating its subject." * This piece of industry is supposed to have been undertaken by Matilda, the Queen of William the Conqueror. Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of the work, when I mention to you, that it was preserved in the Cathedral of Bayeux till the year 1803, where once for some days every year, it was exhibited in "the nave of the church," round which "it is stated it exactly went." When Napoleon, in 1803, contemplated the invasion of England, he caused this tapestry to be removed from the Cathedral to the National Museum at Paris, no doubt to inspire the French, from their past history, with the notion that a second Conquest might be achieved. "When it had served its purpose it was returned to its original obscurity" † at Bayeux. In 1814 it is mentioned that the colours of the tapestry were as bright and distinct, and the letters of the superscription as legible, as if of yesterday.

The work is made exceedingly interesting by the fact, that so many phases of life are depicted by the skill of the artist. The court costume, the dress and weapons of the soldier, the fleet of the period, the mode of carrying on and the implements of agriculture, the social life, even to the public dinner, all are depicted, perhaps rudely, but, there is very little doubt, faithfully, in the Bayeux tapestry. And to the illustrations that have been taken from this wondrous test of woman's industry, I must refer you for any further information on the subject of the Saxon period.

All conquests are more or less calamities, and the Norman invasion and conquest of England fully share in this general condemnation. The Earldomen and the Thane were for the most part dispersed to make room for the

* Knight's Pic. Hist., vol. i., p. 196. † Old England, p. 83.

favourites of the Conqueror, and great misery and distress were thereby occasioned. Vasts tracts of country too were depopulated, and the New Forest was thus created to gratify the sporting propensities of the kings. The early Norman rule was an iron rule, but it had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. The Saxon had maintained, as we have been led to see, a solid basis of liberty—had a very clear notion of right—but he was rude and rough as his sea king forefathers. Thus whilst we can point with gratitude to the Saxon for many a time-honoured institution, for many an unacknowledged principle of law, which lingers in the pages of our statute books, for the very *root* and *groundwork* of our present English language (and this last legacy, let me remind you, is no slight one), yet we look in vain for any substantial proof, either from the vestiges of a grand church, a stately castle, or public work, that the Saxon had attained to any great position in the higher civilization of nations. A great race may even be swept from the face of a country it had subdued, without having left any permanent mark of the hand it had laid on the land of its conquests. It has been *naïvely* remarked that, but a few years back, had the British power been driven from India, all that would have been left to attest the energy and brilliant achievements of our countrymen would have been the empty bottles labelled with the trade mark of a popular English brewery. And yet, without any undue conceit, we could say, had this been the case, a mighty people were once the masters of this land. I think this reflection is due to our Saxon progenitors.

The Norman, with all that was objectionable about him, came to England with a higher civilization, more learning, an improved mode of life. In his habits, in his feasts, the Saxon had become coarse and drunken; the Norman, as in contrast, showed an elegance in his festivities, in his apparel, and in his general mode of life. He introduced into the country a style of architecture of which still there remain some noble specimens. He had his mission undoubtedly to this island, and a great mission it was. The tyranny of the Norman kings gradually brought about a sympathy between the Norman subject and the Saxon, it is well known that the former were equally zealous with the great body of the people

in demanding the restoration of the old Saxon laws and customs; and eventually in the reign of Henry II. the two races mingled, intermarriages took place, and all rejoiced in the common name of Englishmen.

We have now fairly found footing in the Middle Ages, a period in history full of remarkable contrasts—an age of high art, as the minsters of our cathedral cities attest, and yet an age of gross superstition, in which Christianity was fearfully caricatured; an age which could boast of men of learning and of disinterested devotion, that may well engage the attention of our own times, in which, taking their names at random, lived such men as St. Bernard, St. Louis of France, Lanfranc, and Anselm, and yet a time of much ignorance, oppression, and crime. I mention these contrasts, because at the present day there are too often, on the one hand, some who are given unduly to exalt, and others to detract from all that is mediæval.

Having made these few prefatory remarks, it is now my object, if possible, to live with you for a few minutes the life of the Middle Ages. Like all other human story, there will be the mixture of the grave and the gay; and I crave your pardon, if, to endeavour to give a faithful picture, I appear to deal in trivialities. The old street leading up to the Cathedral Precinct gateway of Canterbury will give us a very fair notion of the thoroughfare of a mediæval town; the road covered with round pebbles, no regular footway; the houses, each story overhanging the other, till finally the windows of the uppermost stories of opposite houses almost met. These projections became so objectionable, that among the regulations of the City of London, it was provided, that the pent-houses and *jettes* (a general name for the projection of a house), should be so high that folks on horseback might ride beneath them, and that they should be of the height of nine feet at the very least; * and to pursue the subject of the thoroughfares then existing, I may remark that swine were in mediæval cities, in the less enlightened days of the period, the scavengers, just as in Eastern cities, from time immemorial, the dog has occupied the same position. We remember the allusion in the sacred volume to the

* Liber Albus, p. 237.

dog, as "grinning and going about the city;" and his descendants, we know, may still be seen in Constantinople or any of the towns of Syria.

There is no doubt that the vast tracts of forests of oak in the Middle Ages encouraged the breeding of pigs. In the twelfth century, it is said, that these unsightly creatures were allowed to roam in the streets of Paris. But the most effectual way to put a stop to this nuisance at length occurred, for in 1131 one of the sons of Louis le Gros, while passing in the Rue du Martroi, between the Hôtel de Ville and the Church of St. Gervais, fractured his skull by a fall from his horse, caused by a pig running between that animal's legs. This accident led to the first order being issued by the provosts to the effect that breeding of pigs within the town was forbidden.* The allusions, which I have thus made, are simply to give an illustration of the sanitary condition of mediæval towns.

It has been my good fortune to have my attention called to a most interesting book called the "Liber Albus, or, The White Book of the City of London;" a book compiled in 1419 by the worthy town clerk of the period, John Carpenter, in the Mayoralty of Richard Whittington, and translated by Mr. Riley, a special commissioner appointed to translate the national records. This book is a compilation of the archives of the City of London, preserved in the Record Room at Guildhall. Mr. Riley says in his introduction, that there is no city in existence in possession of archives so complete. For nearly six centuries "its officials have kept an unbroken record of all transactions and events social, political, ecclesiastical, legal, military, naval, local, and municipal, in which closely or remotely the City in its corporate character has been interested," and that through all the chances and changes of its wars, its rebellions, its pestilences, and its conflagrations, to the lasting honour of the Corporation.

The entire account of the election of the Lord Mayor, taken from the "Liber Albus," is exceedingly interesting. It discloses to us how much the habits of the people were interwoven with the religious ceremonies of the pre-

* La Croix's Manners, Customs, and Dress during the Middle Ages, p. 119.

Reformational Church. After describing the procession, probably as singular a spectacle in its way as at the present time, and leaving the Mayor at his house with his invited guests, the writer quaintly continues the narrative as follows :—

"On the same day after dinner it was the custom for the new Mayor to proceed from his house to the Church of St. Thomas de Acton, those of his livery preceding him ; and after the Aldermen had there assembled, they then proceeded together to the Church of St. Paul. Upon arriving there at a spot, namely, in the middle of the nave of the church, between the two small doors, it was the custom to pray for the soul of Bishop William, who by his entreaties, it is said, obtained from his Lordship William the Conqueror, great liberties for the City of London, the priest repeating the *De profundis*. They then moved on to the churchyard, where lie the bodies of the parents of Thomas, late Archbishop of Canterbury ; * and there they also repeated the *De profundis*, etc., in behalf of all the faithful of God departed, near the grave of his parents before mentioned. After this they returned through the market of Chepe (sometimes with lighted torches, if it was late) to the said Church of St. Thomas, and there the Mayor and Aldermen made an offering of one penny each ; which done, every one returned to his home, and the morning and the evening were one day." †

It is singular to see the veneration with which churches were regarded in mediæval times ; so much so that the criminal who fled to a church often escaped the punishment which would otherwise be inflicted on him ; carried to such an excess, no doubt there was a great deal to be said against the privilege of sacred places, still we should remember that in a rude age there was much to soften and awe the otherwise unrestrained by exalting the place set apart for God's service.

I find among the pleas of the City of London, in the twelfth year of the reign of Henry III., the following recorded :—

"In that year, Gervaise le Cordewaner being Chamberlain and the aforesaid persons being Sheriffs, it happened that one Henry de Buke, on the Monday next after the Feast of Saint Ethelburga slew one Le Ireis le Tyulour in the street of Fletebrigge‡ with a knife, and then fled to the Church of Saint Mary in Southwerke, and having there acknowledged the deed in presence of the said Chamberlain and Sheriffs abjured the realm."§

Among some very curious statutes and ordinances controlling the fisheries in the Thames and Medway, the following singular piece of history occurs, which if believed in the days of Whittington, I cannot vouch for

* Thomas à Becket.
† Liber Albus, p. 24.
‡ Fleet Street.
§ Liber Albus, p. 76.

the same credulity at the present day in the precincts of Guildhall :—

"In the year from the beginning of the world 4032, and before our Lord's incarnation 1200, the city that is now called London, founded in imitation of Great Troy, was constructed and built by King Brut, the first monarch of Britain, being at first called New Troy and afterwards Trinovant, of which foundation, building, and construction, the river Thames was the cause. And of this city and river, both Dukes, Mayors, Wardens, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Nobles of the before-mentioned city have heretofore had and held the governance."

The bells of the churches in mediæval cities were used not only for sacred but for secular purposes. The early morning bell not only rang out the hours of prayer, but also announced the time when the markets opened; of this we shall have some instances presently. The curfew, still rung in many parishes, and within my own memory rung in this parish, told the hour when all well-conducted people should retire to rest. I now give you the following regulation from "Liber Albus"* :—

"It is also forbidden that any person shall be so daring as to be found going or wandering about the streets of the City after curfew rung out at Saint Martin's-le-Grand and Saint Lawrence or at Berkyng Cherche,† with sword or buckler, or with other arm for doing mischief, whereof evil suspicion may arise, or in any other manner, unless it be some great lord or other substantial person of good reputation, or a person of their household, who from them shall have warranty, and who is going from one to another with a light to guide him. And if anyone shall be found going about contrary to the form aforesaid, if he have no occasion to come so late into the City, he shall be taken by the keepers of the peace and put into the Tun,‡ which for such misdoers is assigned. And on the morrow he shall be arrested and be brought before the Mayor of the City and the Alderman; and according as they shall find that such persons have offended and are thereunto accustomed, they shall be punished."

The City must have been truly quiet, if this regulation was well observed, surrounded, as it was, by massive walls and approached by gates, reminding us very much of the condition of a college and its inmates in the present day. Here is an ordinance as to the watch and ward of the City :—

"Every gate shall be kept by day by two men well armed, and shall be shut at night by the Serjeant inhabiting the same; and that every Serjeant shall keep one Wait§ at his own cost."

In proceeding with a narrative of this kind of paternal

* Page 240.
† All Hallows, Barking, near the Tower.
‡ A prison in Cornhill.
§ Watchman.

government it will, I think, be interesting, as well as amusing, to give some account of the serious liabilities, in which, in the times we are engaged upon, knavish tradesmen and brokers were involved, and first of corn-dealers.

"Also as to corn dealers who bring corn to the City for sale, that no one shall sell, by show or by sample, but they shall come to certain places in the City established, with their carts laden and with their horses having the loads upon them without selling anything and without getting rid of anything, until they reach the established places; that is to say, within the gate of Newgate, before the Friars Minors there, and at Grascherche; and this without putting anything into house or into hiding-place, whether the same arrive by night or by day, and that no corn shall be sold until the hour of Prime* rung at Saint Paul's, under penalty of forfeiting such corn; and that all vessels, scouts, and boats, of whatever kind they may be, that bring corn to sell as well at Billynsgate as elsewhere on the Thames, shall remain upon common sale after they have arrived without selling anything in gross for an whole day, that so the common people may buy for their sustenance what they shall need, and this under heavy forfeiture.

"And whereas some buyers and brokers of corn do buy corn in the City of country folks who bring it to the City to sell, and give, on the bargain being made, a penny or halfpenny by way of earnest; and tell the peasants to take corn to their house, and that there they shall receive their pay; and when they come there and think to have their payment directly, the buyer says that his wife at his house has gone out and has taken the key of the room, so that he cannot get at his money, but that the other must go away, and come again soon and receive his pay; and when he comes back a second time, then the buyer is not to be found; or else if he is found, he feigns something else, by reason whereof the poor men cannot have their pay. And sometimes, while the poor men are waiting for their pay, the buyer causes the corn to be wetted,† and then when they come to ask for their pay, which was agreed upon, they are told to wait until such a day as the buyer shall choose to name or else to take off a part of the price, which if they will not do, they may take their corn and carry it away, a thing which they cannot do because it is wetted and in another state than it was in when they sold it. And by such evil delays on the part of the buyer the poor men lose half of their pay in expenses before they are fully settled with. It is provided that the person towards whom such knavishness shall be committed shall make complaint unto the Mayor, and if he shall be able to make proof and convict the buyer before the Mayor of the wrong so done to him, the buyer shall pay unto the vendor double the value and full damages as well, in case the Mayor shall see that the value aforesaid does not suffice. . . . And if he have not the means of paying the penalty aforesaid, then he shall be put in the pillory, and remain there one hour in the day at least, a Serjeant of the City standing by the side of the pillory with good hue and cry as to the reason why he is so punished."‡

The following proclamation as to the places where corn-dealers should stand in the City of London will

* The first hour of the day; according to canonical usages, six to seven in the morning.

† For the purpose of making malt.

‡ Liber Albus, p. 229.

be interesting, as showing the use made of familiar localities in former days, and the precautions that were taken that so precious an article of food as corn should be sold honestly :—

"Let proclamation be made that all those who bring corn or malt unto the City of London for sale, bring the same solely into the markets in the said City for the sale thereof, at the places from of old used therefor; that is to say, that those from the counties of Camtebrigge,* Huntyndone, Bedeforde, and those who come by Ware, bring all the corn and malt which they shall bring unto the said City for sale unto the market upon the pavement at Graschirche, and there stand for the purposes of sale, and nowhere else, without fraud or evil intent, and without placing or selling any thereof in secret places; and that the same corn and malt be not mixed in deceits of the people under pain of forfeiture of the said corn and malt. . . . .

"And those who come from the parts towards the west of the City, as from Barnet, and those who have to come by that way and by way of other places bringing corn or malt unto the said City for sale, bring the same solely unto the market upon the pavement before the Friars Minors in Newgate, and there stand for the purposes of sale, and nowhere else, without placing or selling any part thereof in secret; and that the same corn or malt be not mixed in deceit of the people under pain of forfeiture, etc., etc." †

The unfortunate position of fraudulent bakers, gathered from the "Book of Customs," and handed down to us in the "Liber Albus," ‡ will tempt me again to quote from this most valuable and unique record :—

"And if any default shall be found in the bread of a baker of the City, the first time let him be drawn upon a hurdle from the Guildhall to his own house, through the great streets, where there may be most people assembled, and through the great streets that are most dirty, with the faulty loaf hanging from his neck. If a second time he shall be found committing the same offence, let him be drawn from the Guildhall through the great street of Chepe, in manner aforesaid, to the pillory; and let him be put upon the pillory and remain there at least one hour in the day. And the third time that such default shall be found, he shall be drawn, and the oven shall be pulled down, and the baker made to forswear the trade within the City for ever."

It will here, I think, be appropriate to give some account of a punishment which in the Middle Ages was of common occurrence—namely, the pillory. It would be quite beside my purpose to enter upon so vast a subject as the punishments which prevailed in mediæval times. They were, indeed, hard times. We should shudder, did we realize the ingenuity, by which the poor

* Cambridge. † Liber Albus, p. 372. ‡ Ibid., p. 232.

human body was then made the subject of torture. Could the dank stone walls of the dungeons of the Tower of London, for instance, speak, what could they reveal to us! This side of these times presents indeed a dark picture, and astonishes us with the striking contrast it presents to the days in which we have the happy privilege to live. But the pillory was rather intended as a position of ridicule than of actual punishment. There is an Act of Parliament, as early as the fifty-first year of Henry III.'s reign,* enacting that the pillory and the tumbrel shall be the punishment of offending bakers and brewers. The pillory, you are aware, was an exposed and elevated platform where the delinquent stood suspended in the air, usually, I believe, with his head and hands in a vice, and, whilst in this position, the crowd would pelt the unfortunate criminal with dirt and rotten eggs. The chief intention of setting a criminal in the pillory was that he should become infamous, and known for such afterwards by the spectators. The Society of Antiquaries many years ago published a collection of prints, showing the manner in which the criminal's head was exposed in the time of Henry VII., whilst in the pillory.†

In speaking of the punishment of bakers, Dalton, a learned writer on Criminal Law,‡ says: "But if the offence be grievous or often, then shall they suffer punishment of the body without redemption (or remitting the offence either for gold or silver), a baker to the pillory, and a brewer to the tumbrel (now called the cooking stool, as it seemeth)." "An author," Dalton tells us, "interprets tumbrel for a dung cart." He says again in the Correction of Assize of Bread and Beer, the magistrates are to have a pillory and a tumbrel to punish bakers and brewers that are faulty. But the pillory was reserved for other transgressors besides bakers. Although I cannot leave them without giving just one more instance of their delinquencies, recorded in the judgments against some of their body, among the judgments of the pillory in the City of London. It is as follows :—

* 51 Hen. III., st. 6.
† Barrington Ancient Statutes, 5th edition, p. 55.
‡ Dalton's Justice, c. 112, p. 367.

"Judgment of pillory upon certain bakers who had holes in their tables called *moldyng bordes*, by means whereof they stole their neighbour's dough." *

The pillory was, however, the punishment for the following offences, as appears by the "Liber Albus":—

"Judgment of pillory for selling of two stinking capons." "For selling a peck of stinking eels." "For lies uttered against John Tremayn, the Recorder."

There is also a noteworthy record of a similar judgment, which might, even in these days be, if not a punishment, at least a terror, to those who, during monetary and speculative bubbles, live on other people's ruin. It is this: "Judgment of pillory for enhancing the markets."

By a statute in the reign of Queen Anne, the punishment of the pillory for bakers was abolished.

Before I pass from the subject of food, it might be interesting to touch on the restrictions that applied to butchers. In England butchers were only allowed to kill bulls after they had been baited with dogs, no doubt with the view of making the flesh more tender. They were forbidden to sell meat on days when abstinence from animal food was ordered by the Church. By disobeying these regulations the consumer was liable to fine and imprisonment, or to severe corporal punishment by the whip or in the pillory. An unfortunate man, by the name of Clement Marot, was imprisoned and nearly burned alive for having eaten pork in Lent. Here is a singular tale: "In a certain town there had been a procession in Lent. A woman who had assisted at it, barefooted, went home to dine off a quarter of lamb and a ham. The smell got into the street; the house was entered. The fact being established, the woman was taken and condemned to walk through the town with her quarter of lamb on the spit over her shoulder and the ham hung round her neck."

Erasmus said: "He who has eaten pork instead of fish, is taken to the torture like a parricide."

An edict of Henry II. of France, 1549, forbade the sale of meat in Lent to persons who should not be furnished with a doctor's certificate.†

* Liber Albus, p. 519.

† Lacroix's Middle Ages, p. 126.

I now wish to touch upon the subject of the sports of the mediæval age. Hunting, we all know, had a great fascination with the upper classes of the community. Our Norman kings were devoted to the chase. The hall of the baron was adorned with trophies of the hunting-field. But there was one sport only now known to us in story, or by the signs on way-side inns, which entirely captivated civilised Europe in the Middle Ages, and kindled a perfect enthusiasm in knight and fair lady, in priest and peasant—this was falconry. In so great esteem was this pastime held, that a nobleman or his lady never appeared in public without a hawk on the wrist, as a mark of dignity. Even bishops and abbots entered the churches with their hunting birds, which they placed on the steps of the altar itself during the service.

In a poem by Sebastian Brant, called "The Ship of Fools," published at the close of the fifteenth century, the poet complains of the interruption of divine service by the bringing of hawks and hounds into the churches, which the poet severely and very properly rebukes.

The following is the passage:—

"Into the church then comes another sotte,
Without devotion, jetting up and down,
Or to be seene, and show his garded cote.
Another on his fiste a sparhawke or fawcone
Or else a cokow, wasting to his shone.
Before the aulter he to and fro doth wander
With even as great devotion as doth a gander.
In comes another, his hounds at his tayle,
With lynes and leases and other like baggage.
His dogges bark, so that withouten fayle,
The whole church is troubled by their outrage." *

The high-born soldier frequently took his falcon to the wars, and whilst engaged in the battle would give the bird to his squire, till the conflict was over.

A man who had a large establishment was expected, in order to keep up his dignity, to maintain a regular falconry, and this entailed many retainers, horses and dogs of all sorts, which were either used for starting the game or for securing it when down, when it was forced to ground by the birds. A well-trained falcon was a bird

* See Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 25.

of great value, and was the finest present that could be made to a lady, to a nobleman, or to the king himself, by any one who had received a favour.*

Lacroix says: "The Count de Nevers, son of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, having been made a prisoner at the battle of Nicopolis, was presented to the Sultan Bajazet, who showed him his hunting establishment, consisting of seven thousand falconers, and as many huntsmen. The Duke of Burgundy, on hearing this, sent twelve white hawks, which were very scarce birds, as a present to Bajazet. The Sultan was so pleased with them, that he sent him back his son in exchange."

Lacroix also tells us that "the falcon was held in such respect, that their utensils, trappings, or feeding dishes were never used for other birds. The glove on which they were accustomed to alight was frequently elaborately embroidered in gold, and was never used except for birds of their own species. In the private establishments, the leather hoods which were put on their heads to prevent them seeing, were embroidered with gold and pearls, and surmounted with birds of paradise. Each bird wore on his legs two little bells with his owner's crest upon them. . . . These bells could be heard when the bird was too high in the air to be seen." †

The best bells for this purpose were made at Milan, and silver was commonly mixed with the metal.

Strutt, in his work on "Sports and Pastimes," quotes from an old play entitled, "A Woman Killed with Kindness." ‡

> "Her bels, Sir Francis had not both one weight,
> Nor was one semitune above the other. .
> Mei thinkes these Millane bels do sound too full,
> And spoile the mounting of your hawke."

So popular was falconry in the fourteenth century, that in the rooms of inns there were perches made under the large mantelpieces on which to place the birds, while the sportsmen were at dinner.

I should mention that the Grand Falconer of France was a person very much in the same important position

* Lacroix's Middle Ages, p. 201. † Ibid., pp. 202, 203. ‡ 1617.

which the Master of the Buckhounds now occupies in England. His annual salary was four thousand florins; he was attended by fifty gentlemen and fifty assistant falconers; and he was allowed to keep three hundred hawks.*

As another instance of the value of hawks, I may mention, that in the reign of Edward III. a statute was passed, that when a person found any species of hawk that had been lost by its owner, he was commanded to carry it to the Sheriff of the county, wherein it was found. The duty of the Sheriff was to make a proclamation, to be made in all the principal towns in the county, that he had such a hawk in his custody; and if the person who found the hawk concealed it from the owner or his falconer, he was liable, upon discovery, to pay the price of the bird to the owner, and to suffer two years' imprisonment.†

In the same reign the Bishop of Ely excommunicated certain persons for stealing a hawk that was sitting upon her perch in the cloisters of Bermondsey, in Southwark; but this piece of sacrilege was committed during Divine service in the choir, and the hawk was the property of the Bishop.‡

Hawking, though it attained the climax of its popularity in the Middle Ages, was a pastime of earlier antiquity, for we find it was a favourite sport among the Saxons. Its decline, no doubt, is attributable to the introduction of the musket, which was a far surer method of bringing down game to the sportsman than the catching of other birds by the training of hawks; still, considering it was a pastime that had so much to attract the lady as well as her lord, we may be surprised that it has become almost entirely a sport of the past; for this very reason I have dwelt upon it, perhaps somewhat unduly.

The sports of the Middle Ages were numerous, and if we again consult Strutt's work on Sports and Pastimes we shall very probably come to the conclusion that he discourses of mirthful times.

The ridicule with which the common hunt of the citizens of London was stigmatised, I cannot refrain from mentioning here, before leaving the subject of sports. I

* Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes," p. 28. † 34 Edward III.
‡ Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes," p. 35.

quote from a ballad collected in a work entitled "Pills to purge Melancholy":—

"Next, once a year into Essex a hunting they go;
To see 'em pass along, oh, 'tis a most pretty show.
* * * * * * *
My lord, he takes a staff in hand to beat the bushes o'er;
I must confess it was a work he ne'er had done before.
A creature bounceth from a bush, which made them all to laugh
My lord, he cried, A hare, a hare! but it proved an Essex calf.
And when they had done their sport they came to London, where they dwell,
Their faces all so torn and scratched, their wives scarce knew them well;
For 'twas a very great mercy so many 'scaped alive,
For of twenty saddles carried out they brought again but five."

It would, however, be quite beyond my purpose to enumerate and describe the various ways in which our ancestors employed their leisure hours, but it would be a decided omission did I not mention the one event which of all others engrossed the interest and enthusiasm of bygone days, and this was the Tournament or joust. It has been so often spoken of and depicted by historian, poet, and novelist, that I feel it would be needless minutely to enter upon it. As the arena to the Roman, the bull-fight to the Spaniard, so the tournament or joust was the central attraction to a mediæval crowd. Perhaps the picture of a tournament by the Poet Laureate will most aptly bring to our imagination a thing so entirely of the past. The tale is too remotely conceived to give it a stamp of reality, but still it reflects in imaginative colours what existed in fact in a later age. I quote from "Elaine"*:—

"So spake Lavaine, and when they reached the lists
By Camelot in the meadow, let his eyes
Run through the peopled gallery, which half round
Lay like a rainbow fall'n upon the grass,
Until they found the clear-faced king, who sat
Robed in red samite, easily to be known,
Since to his crown the golden dragon clung,
And down his robe the dragon writhed in gold.
* * * * *
And in the costly canopy o'er him set
Blazed the last diamond of the nameless king.
* * * And anon
The trumpets blew; and then did either side,
They that assailed and they that held the lists,
Set lance in rest, strike spear, suddenly move,

* "Idylls of the King."

Meet in the midst, and there so furiously
Shock, that a man far off might well perceive,
If any man that day were left afield,
The hard earth shake and a low thunder of arms."

And then, describing the bravery of his favourite knight, Sir Launcelot, the poet continues—

"They couched their spears and pricked their steeds, and thus,
Their plumes driv'n backwards by the wind they made
In moving, all together down upon him
Bare, as a wild wave in the wide North Sea,
Green glimmering toward summit bears, with all
Its stormy crests that smoke against the skies,
Down on a bark, and overbears the bark
And him that helms it, so they overbore
Sir Launcelot and his charger."

He is, however, at length victorious,

"Though it seemed
Half miracle. * * * *
Then the heralds blew,
Proclaiming his the prize who wore the sleeve
Of scarlet, and the pearls; and all the knights,
His party, cried, 'Advance and take your prize,
The diamond!'"

The costumes of the Middle Ages are a study in themselves. To become acquainted with this subject we should examine the tombs of the kings and of the nobles, the painted windows and the brasses in our churches, tapestry work, and the many illuminated manuscripts, that are still preserved to us. These relics of art are thus valuable, inasmuch as the conventional dress of the period, when the picture was painted, the sculpture was carved, or the work executed, whatever the subject might be, whether a court ceremony of the day, for some incident of early sacred history, we always find faithfully delineated.

The extravagance and eccentricity of male and female dress in our own country seem to have culminated in the reigns of our Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward IV. I shall briefly endeavour to give some instances of the extravagances to which I have referred.

In the reign of Henry V. the fashionable head-covering of the female can be called nothing else than a horned head-dress. Satirical writers of the period compare these head-dresses to wearing a gibbet on the head, or to the appearance of various kinds of the brute

creation. In the church at Arundel may still be seen in the effigy of Beatrice, Countess of Arundel, a specimen of the horned head-dress, as it was actually worn.

In the reign of Edward IV. the ladies ornamented their heads with certain rolls of linen pointed like steeples, generally half, and sometimes three-quarters of an ell in height. Some wore caps of velvet half a yard high.* The costume of Normandy at the present day with regard to shape is very much the same as that which we are now describing. Among the peasantry of Rouen and Caen will still be seen "the steeple caps with the butterflies wings that 360 years ago towered upon the heads of the gentle dames of Paris and London."† These towering caps might have reached, it is said, to far greater heights, had not a certain famous monk—Thomas Conecte—attacked them with great zeal and resolution. His denunciations were so effective that during his sermon many ladies of the audience would throw down their head-dresses and commit them to the flames. Thousands attended his preaching, and so great was the monk's influence, that if any one appeared in public with the denounced head-dress, the rabble flung stones at the unfortunate person who wore it. The men, too, were equally ridiculous in their costume. In the reign of Edward IV. the men wore their hair so long that it came into their eyes, and they covered their heads with bonnets of cloth a quarter of an ell or more in height, and most men wore heavy chains of gold. The shoes, too, became of such extravagant length, and were so pointed, that the points had to be fastened to the knee of the wearer by silver chains, the shoes themselves being made of different coloured leather.

I now quote from the chronicles of Paradin, on the subject of the shoes of the period. He says: "The men wore shoes with a point before, half a foot long; the richer and more eminent personages wore them a foot, and princes two feet long, which was the most ridiculous thing that ever was seen; and when men became tired of these pointed shoes, which were called poulaines, they adopted others in their stead denominated duck-bills, having a bill or beak before of four or five fingers

* "History of British Costume," p. 206. † *Ibid.*, p. 208.

in length. Afterwards, assuming a contrary fashion, they wore slippers so very broad, in front, as to exceed the measure of a good foot." *

These extravagances, however, must have attained to serious proportions, for we find that in the third year of Edward IV. it was deemed necessary to check them by Act of Parliament. One or two provisions of this singular statute I will just notice. It was called an Act for restraining excessive and inordinate apparel: "No knight under the estate of a lord, or his wife or child was to wear cloth of gold, corses wrought with gold, or fur of sables." Penalty £20. "No squire or gentleman under the degrees therein mentioned, should wear any damask or satin, except squires, menial sergeants, officers of the King's Household, etc., having £40 a year; the wives and widows and unmarried daughters of persons having £100 a year. Penalty 100 shillings." "None under the degree of a lord should wear shoes or boots having pikes more than two inches long. Penalty 40 pence, and the like on shoemakers making them." † In perusing this peculiar Act we find that every grade of society is restricted from excess of dress, and each is kept within the bounds considered proper for the particular class of life in which he was moving.

The domestic life of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is a subject in itself, and therefore merely to be glanced at on this occasion. We have accounts of the banquets of these days. A treatise of the fourteenth century tells us of a feast at which there were thirty dishes, beginning with a sirloin of beef, and ending with a swan, which appeared at table in full plumage:—

"This last was the triumph of cookery, inasmuch as it presented this magnificent bird to the eyes of the astonished guests, just as if he were living and swimming. His beak was gilt, and his body silvered. . . . . Eight banners of silk were placed round, and a cloth of the same material served as a carpet for the whole dish, which towered above the other appointments of the table. The peacock, which was much thought of then, as it is little valued now, was similarly arrayed, and was brought to table amidst a flourish of trumpets, and the applause of all present." ‡

At certain feasts, it is related, that the dishes were brought in by servants in full armour, mounted on capa-

* Chronicles, p. 271. † 3 Edw. IV., cap. 5.
‡ "La Croix's Manners," etc., pp. 163, 176.

risoned horses. Numbers of attendants were required for the service of the table of the wealthy, who would come under the denomination of retainers and varlets.

It is related that Louis of Orleans, the brother of Charles VI. of France, in order that his country might be well represented in a diplomatic mission to Germany, raised the number of his household to more than two hundred and fifty persons, of whom about one hundred were retainers and table attendants.

But we chiefly see in the records of these times the ways and doings of the wealthiest of the community on great occasions; they disguise, however, the actual position of the generality of the people If we even look at the ruined castles, in which the feudal Baron dwelt, we must be struck with the discomforts to our more luxurious eyes of his domestic arrangements—discomforts to which a man of very moderate means in these days would not submit; but the position of the great body of the community, as to home life in all its details, must have been deplorable indeed. The only lesson in domestic life, by which we can usefully profit, no doubt is the general simplicity of the habits of the men and women of the Middle Ages, which must have conduced to health, and counterbalanced many of the evils that otherwise existed. They realized truly the old proverb, which it would do well for us to take to heart, namely, that—

> "To rise at six, dine at ten,
> Sup at six, to bed at ten,
> Makes man live ten times ten."

I have now most imperfectly endeavoured to realize the every-day life of the mediæval period, and in a very disconnected and fragmentary way. It is well, I think to contrast the past with our own days, and to make the history of our species at some particular time our study.

The Middle Ages are of course a fruitful subject for our consideration, presenting most varied and attractive objects to contemplate; for instance, the rise and fall of feudalism; the history of chivalry; the rise and progress of Gothic Architecture; the birth and growth of Christian Art, cradled, as it was, in all the luxury of an Italian climate, the fresco, the cartoon, and finally the masterpieces portrayed on canvas. What themes are here pre-

sented to us, full of interest, full of attraction. We are face to face with striking contrasts, as I have before remarked. Mighty struggles are incessantly occupying our thoughts, between culture of a very high order on the one hand, and the darkest of ignorance on the other—between freedom of thought and gross superstition—between the gentle influences of religion and inhuman cruelty.

But our reflection, on closer study of the daily life of the Middle Ages, will most probably be, that in this respect we shall see a lack of respect for humanity, as such, in the manner of punishing the criminal; an absence of care on the part of the governing power for the general welfare and happiness of the community; and, finally, a sadly low estimate of the value of human life.

It is our good fortune to live in more favoured times. Education, based on an enlightened religion, has surely been the main cause of this remarkable advance from the evils we have noted—an advance which we may confidently believe will not stop with us.

ON THE DISCOVERY OF ANGLO-SAXON RELICS IN STONE.

BY THE REV. C. LOWNDES, M.A., F.R.A.S.

In the third volume of the "Records of Buckinghamshire," page 164, I gave a brief account of the discovery of some Anglo-Saxon relics in a field, called Causeway Field, situated on the east side of the road between Stone and the hamlet of Bishopstone, and near the latter place.

The field is part of an ancient common, the inclosure of which took place in the year 1776. On resuming the excavations, the workmen came upon a number of graves which contained human remains and relics, which appeared to indicate the character of the persons interred. The bodies were from two to two and a half feet from the surface, and were found in various positions, no order

had apparently been pursued in the mode of interment. Most of them were lying north and south, at full length, but a few were doubled up. I was fortunate enough in being present at the exhumation of one of them, when we found the sword, pl. i., fig. 2, on the left, or east side; a spear-head and knife on the right, or west side; and the umbo of a shield and the glass ornament, pl. ii, fig. 12, between the thighs. This sword is two feet nine inches long and two inches broad. Close to the guard, and where the scabbard begins, is a band of thin bronze, three-quarters of an inch wide, ornamented with indented lines, which no doubt held the top of the scabbard together. The sword (pl. i., fig. 1) was found subsequently in another grave, and is three feet long, and two and three-quarters of an inch broad. The two swords are sharp on both edges, and have the remains of the wooden scabbards sticking to them. The other relics figured in the photographs, and some imperfect ones, which seem to have been partially destroyed by the nature of the soil, were found at different times in graves with human remains. The relics, which were discovered previous to February, 1866, were presented by J. Lee, Esq., the then owner of the property, to our Society's Museum. Those more recently discovered, numbered 1 to 7 in plate ii., and the long broadsword in plate i., are in the possession of Edward Dyke Lee, Esq., the present lord of the manor.

The umbones varied much in shape and size. Some were surmounted by a sharp spike, others had a round flat disc, or terminal, about an inch in diameter, and others were round. Several of them had the rivets which attached them to the "linden wood," of which the shield was made. And one of them had the handle inside the cavity, which was formed for the reception of the hand; for the shield was not worn on the arm, but was held by the hand at arm's length.

The bronze fibulæ, or brooches, were of different forms and sizes. The two small saucer-shaped fibulæ, gilded inside (plate ii., figs. 1 and 2) are in a remarkable good state of preservation.

The crystal bead (fig. 11), the large amber * bead

* Professor W. W. Smyth informs me that "although it is somewhat difficult and uncertain to distinguish amber from certain indurated gums,

Anglo-Saxon remains discovered at Bishopstone. One-sixth of the size of the original.

Anglo-Saxon remains discovered at Bishopstone. One-third of the size of the original.

(fig. 13), the strings of glass and amber beads, also the bronze ear-pick, pins, and tweezers, were found in different graves, and probably belonged to females. The bodies seem to have been buried with all their earthly possessions and personal ornaments, as badges of their several callings.

The large spear-head, six feet six inches long, was found by itself; and knives of various sizes were found in almost every grave.

In addition to the above the workmen found an urn of black pottery, and an axe, which they hid in the red sand; some boys found them on the Sunday, broke the former and threw the latter away.

One of the most perfect of the skulls I presented to Professor W. Flower, of the College of Surgeons, who has placed it in the Anatomical Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

All those relics are similar to those which have been described and illustrated in J. Y. Akerman's *Archæological Index*, in his *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, and in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv., page 276.

PARTICULARS OF THE RESTORATION OF QUAINTON CHURCH.

BY MR. WILLIAM WHITE, ARCHITECT,

30A, Wimpole Street, W.

THIS church consists of a chancel, with vestry against north side, near the east end; a north chancel aisle; a nave with narrow north and south aisles; a south porch, and a western tower. The chancel aisle is called the Winwood aisle. It has an external entrance at the west end, where its width projects beyond that of the north aisle.

The original structure dated probably from about the year 1200, for caps and bases from sedilia, of about this date, were found built in the wall. These were in sufficiently good preservation to be re-used, and to dictate

these may be looked upon, though dark in colour, as real amber, and in this he is supported by Mr. Maskelyne, keeper of the minerals at the British Museum. An interesting question then arises, whence come they? from over sea, or from our own Norfolk coast?"

the form and detail of the new sedilia. The chancel had been rebuilt apparently in the fourteenth century, a piscina and north doorway into the vestry still remaining *in situ;* but the remainder had been rebuilt in the sixteenth century, and in such an insecure manner, that the whole had become a complete ruin, incapable of reinstatement, and unfitted for reproduction. The new chancel, therefore, has been rebuilt in the style of the fourteenth century remains, the dimensions of the old chancel, 43 ft. 8 in. by 19 ft. 7 in., and its division into three bays, being preserved. The side windows are of three lights, and the east window of five, with cusped geometrical tracery. The roof is massive, of open hammer-beam construction.

In the roof of the vestry was a small low room, which it was impossible either to preserve or to reinstate. Apparently it had fallen, and been partly rebuilt in the last century.

The "Winwood" aisle, of the late Perpendicular period, has been preserved with only necessary reparation. This is now used as an organ chamber, the broad four-centred arch into the chancel having been opened out for this purpose.

A blocked opening in the north pier of the chancel arch has also been opened out. The rood-loft staircase, entered from the north aisle, has likewise been exposed to view.

The nave arcades, of remarkably elegant proportions, had gone seriously out of the perpendicular, each of them towards the south; and a clerestory had been built, or perhaps rebuilt, in the last century, vertically upon the leaning walls. These were now rapidly showing unmistakable signs of still further leaning. The nave roof, therefore, was supported and shored up, whilst the clerestory was removed, the arcades forced into their upright position, and secured, and the clerestory rebuilt. The nave roof, erected at the time of the clerestory, although of oak, was of poor material, and of construction insufficient to carry properly the lead covering, or still less to afford any support to the failing walls. This has now given place to a new tye-beam roof of higher pitch and of more massive construction, covered, like the chancel, with roofing tiles.

The aisles, likewise, have been successively rebuilt, with the old windows of the late florid type replaced exactly in their old position. In the south wall of the south aisle, near the east end, are two piscinæ. One of them is formed with a small angle shaft or mullion in the jamb of a window of earlier date and smaller size than the present windows. This has been reinstated as before. It is evident from this remnant that the aisles (with roofs originally of steep lean-to form) were partially rebuilt, and their walls raised and finished with parapets, at the end of the fifteenth century, when the nearly flat roofs covered with lead were formed. These roofs have been renewed, and the lead recast for their covering. The south porch has been rebuilt as nearly as possible as before. On the right hand side of this doorway a very perfect holy water stoup was discovered; it has been carefully divested of all mortar, plaster, etc., and now presents a most perfect and interesting object. A blocked doorway in the north aisle has been opened.

The tower, principally of the fifteenth century work, has a crippled arch leading from the nave; one-half of it being wider than the other, and of different radius, and apparently of a different date, though of the same detail as the other half. The foundations generally being very bad, had doubtless given rise to various rebuildings from time to time.

Fragments of the ancient oak stalls remain, sufficient to enable the carver closely to keep to their pattern in the new, which at present are of like scantling with the old but perfectly plain. It is desirable, if possible, to incorporate some of these fragments into the new work, in order to transmit their true character, and to give evidence of their history.

The new reredos consists of five equal canopied arches for the reception of three subject paintings or bas-reliefs—the three central arches being without shafts, and made to form one panel for the principal subject.

The body of the church will shortly be fitted with open deal benches, standing on the wood floors level with the pavement. Hot-water apparatus has been fitted up for warming, and the church, together with the schools and rectory adjoining, are lighted with the new air-gas, at the cost of the present patron.

FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE CHURCH, AND HISTORY OF QUAINTON.

BY THE REV. C. LOWNDES, M.A., F.R.A.S.

This interesting old Church, picturesquely situated at the foot of Denham Hill, and at the extreme east end of the village, is dedicated to the blessed Virgin, or, as some suppose, to the "Exaltation of the Holy Cross." The feast of the "Exaltation of the Holy Cross" is celebrated on the 14th day of September, in remembrance of the honour paid to it on its discovery by St. Helena in the fourth century; and the village feast, which is almost invariably celebrated on the day of the dedication of the Church, is annually held on the same day. It has therefore been thought that this latter dedication of the Church has some connection with the ancient cross in the centre of the village; but there is no record or tradition to prove that such was the case. At Hogshaw, close by, there was a Preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers of S. John, and they no doubt built the Church, and probably erected the cross. In almost every town or village a cross was erected in the market place, on the village green, or in some other place of common resort. These crosses were originally very plain and simple, but afterwards they were ornamented, and later still elaborately decorated. At the town crosses, banns were often published and marriages solemnized before justices of the peace. Our Society has published an account of the Quainton Cross in Vol. iii., page 153, of the Records.

There is a tradition, that the original site fixed upon for building Quainton Church was at Denham, on a hill still called Church Hill; and that whenever an attempt was made to lay the foundation, the stones were miraculously and immediately removed, by some mysterious agency in the night, and carried to the site where the present edifice was afterwards erected.

The Chancel has been restored in the most substantial and beautiful manner, upon the exact site of the old building, and with the use of every portion of the old material which could be made available for the purpose.

Almost every trace of the old windows had disappeared, but by a careful search amongst the ruins of the old walls, sufficient fragments were discovered to guide the architect in his choice of style, both for the windows and the Sedilia. The former are now filled with cusped geometrical tracery of the fourteenth century; and the latter dates back to about A.D. 1200. The east window has been filled with stained glass, the work of Messrs. Lavers, Barraud, and Westlake, to the memory of A. R. Chalk, Esq., the father of the present patron and curate, the Rev. Thomas Chalk. The subjects in the tracery, are the Almighty, the emblems of the four evangelists, and the five greater prophets. In the upper compartments are—The descent from the Cross; The entombment; Resurrection; "He is not here, He is risen;" "Rabboni." In the lower—"Lazarus, come forth;" "Roll away the stone from the grave;" "Thy brother shall rise again;" "Lord, if Thou hadst been here," etc.; "Jesus wept."

The design is grand in conception and most artistically carried out. The figures are thoroughly well drawn, and the colouring most delicate. A brass on the south wall, just over the reading-desk, states that the window was erected by the widow of the above A. R. Chalk, Esq. Another beautiful window, by the same firm, is about to be placed on the south side, to the memory of Mrs. Chalk, who has died since the erection of the east window. The subject will be, Christ blessing little children. There are four very handsome brass gas coronæ in the choir, the gift of members of the same family.

In the year 1862, a large and handsome stained glass window was inserted in the south aisle, in memory of Thomas Bett, Esq., and family, by his last surviving daughter. The subjects are, The Annunciation, The Crucifixion, and the appearance to Mary after the Resurrection; sacred emblems and other devices filling up the tracery. The window is the work of Messrs. Warrington and Son.

The north chancel aisle was doubtless, originally, a chantry chapel for singing masses for the dead, for, during the restoration, the remains of a Baldachin, or canopy over an altar, were discovered at the east end. This aisle is now called the Winwood Aisle, in memory of Richard Winwood, whose name is better preserved and perpetuated by the almshouses which he founded

and endowed. When the family erected a tomb to his memory in this aisle, they destroyed the altar, leaving only the enrichment of the canopy, which so pulverized, on being touched, that it could not be preserved. This monument has been removed to the west end of the south aisle.

After the Winwoods came the Dormers, of Lee Grange, who completely shut the Winwoods out of the church by placing an enormous monument in the north chancel aisle arch, so as to block it up; and cut off that aisle from the chancel entirely. It projected some five feet into the chancel, with a huge iron railing in front, and occupied, with another monument belonging to the same family, almost the whole of the north side of the chancel. These two monuments have now been placed in the tower arch, which has been opened out, and the west doorway closed, so as to form, as it were, a mortuary chapel. They look remarkably well there; and by this arrangement, at least fourteen extra sittings have been obtained in the chancel.

The Pigott monuments have been grouped in the north chancel aisle. The mural tablet, with the figures of Bett, his wife, and four children, is fixed on the south wall of the south aisle. This monument is, perhaps, the most interesting of any of them, Bett having been formerly rector of the parish, and one of the original translators of the Bible.

These monuments were all most carefully removed at a time when it was feared that the chancel, from its terribly dilapidated condition, must fall to the ground.

The brasses are most of them in very fine condition, and have been removed from the floor, a position which threatened, from the traffic over them, the utter annihilation of the figures and inscription. They are now let into the walls of the chancel. Three are in the back of the sedilia, and two in the north wall. These brasses, together with the monuments, are fully described and illustrated by Dr. Lipscombe (who was himself a native of Quainton), in his "History of Buckinghamshire."

Near the *Lynch* Gate there was formerly an elm-tree of such enormous girth (fifty-three feet), that fifty persons could sit round it. It was blown down in a tempest, November 10, 1810, causing a feeling of consternation,

as a portend of evil, through the whole village. The ancient and invariable custom, when a corpse was brought for interment, was to rest it for a few minutes beneath the branches before it was carried into the church.

The custom of strewing the floor with rushes and sedge was continued in Quainton Church until 1781; but the custom was superseded by placing a new floor of boards under the old open seats.*

This church was reopened after restoration, and an addition to the churchyard consecrated by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, on October 25th, 1877.

Adjoining the church are the almshouses, erected in the year 1687 by Richard Winwood, Esq., son and heir of Sir Ralph Winwood, knight, who was Secretary of State and a Privy Counsellor to King James I., and author of "Memorials" which bear his name. He owned considerable property in Bucks, and resided occasionally at Denham Court, an ancient manor house, formerly the seat of the Iwardbys; the site is now occupied by a moated farm-house. The almshouses are substantially built of brick, and contain eight separate tenements under one roof. They were originally endowed for the reception of four poor widowers and four poor widows; each to receive 1s. 6d., afterwards increased to 4s. per week, a load of beechwood, and a long cloak of strong brown cloth for both men and women, on the sleeve of which was borne a brass badge, with the arms of the founder.

Quainton was formerly more thickly populated than at the present time, and, though somewhat deserted, it had many residents of note. There was Sir Richard Pigott, who was member for the county in the reign of King James I. On one occasion he made such a violent speech, abusing the Scots as thieves and murderers, without even standing up or taking off his hat, that the House was so amazed, that the members could do nothing but stare at each other. His behaviour was reported to the King, who was exceedingly enraged at his not having been stopped. He was ordered to kneel down in the House, and the Speaker, his brother-in-law,

* Bean haulm at Christmas, and wheat straw at Easter, were almost as constantly introduced as evergreens for the decoration of country churches.

Sir Edward Phillips, who had married a Miss Pigott, dismissed him from his office of Knight of the Shire. He was confined in the Tower, and was some years after buried in Hogshaw Church, which has been pulled down more than one hundred years ago. There was also the Lady Saye and Sele, about whom there is a very interesting account in "Chambers' Book of Days." She lived to be considerably over ninety, and had the registers in Castlethorpe Church mutilated in order to preserve the secret of her age. Her second husband was a Mr. Pigott. She married three times—the first time for love, the second for money, and the third for rank; and when over ninety, said, she thought of beginning again in the same order. She was, indeed, a most extraordinary person, and strange tales of her eccentricities still exist. Pope and Addison were numbered amongst her friends. She left £8000 in charities to the parishes of Quainton and Grendon Underwood.

Then there was the old Judge Dormer, whose monument I have referred to, and of whom there is a tradition, that, when the Assizes are held in Aylesbury, he is still to be seen driving from his old Grange along the road.

Quainton was also celebrated in olden times for the races which were held in the open field below the village. I alluded to these races in a paper on Doddershall, read before the Society in the year 1864, and printed in Vol. iii., p. 130, of the RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

During the civil wars in the time of Charles I., this part of the country was frequented by both the Royalists and Parliamentarians. In a lumber room in one of the old farmhouses, the sword and helmet of an old Puritan warrior were found, recalling the time when their owner probably died there of the wounds he had received in one of the conflicts which were constantly taking place.

On Christmas Eve, 1753,* about two thousand people from the village and neighbourhood met at midnight in the rector's garden, with torches and lanterns, to watch for the budding of the thorn, which is said to be a true and veritable descendant of the famous Glastonbury Thorn. Now, the peculiarity of this thorn is, that it buds on the 24th of December in each year, ready to be in full

* From the "Gentleman's Magazine."

bloom on Christmas Day, and to die off at night. The object of the meeting was to decide between "Old Style and New Style."

Previous to 1753 a confusion of dates prevailed, consequent on the different methods of computing time. In order to correct this error, an alteration to the extent of eleven days was necessary to be made. By the statute of the 24th of George II., it was enacted that the natural day next following the 2nd of September should be reckoned the 14th of September, and the several days succeeding the 14th of September should be reckoned in numerical order, according to the order and succession of the days used in the present calendar.

Hence we have Old May Day as well as May Day; Old Michaelmas as well as New Michaelmas; and the like of other old and new days in the calendar. So great was the ignorance of the people, that they were under the impression that Government, by altering the calendar, had taken some advantage of them, and a cry arose, "Give us back our eleven days."

At Quainton, it is said, that great superstition prevailed on the subject, and much discontent. It was determined to settle the question, not by the provisions of an Act of Parliament, but by an appeal to the laws of nature. Christmas Day, 1753 (new style), was to be the day to prove whether the Act of 24th George II. did really alter the time or not.

It was therefore agreed that if the thorn in the rector's garden showed signs of budding on the 24th of December (new style), at midnight, then, both by the laws of man and laws higher, the next day would be the true Christmas Day.

But the thorn did not show any signs of budding. It was therefore resolved, that the next day was not the true and proper Christmas Day. It was not kept, either by the attendance of the people at the services of the church, or in the usual festivities.

It is further stated that so deep-rooted was this aversion to the new Christmas Day, that on Old Christmas Day Divine service was performed in this and the neighbouring churches, in order to appease the people, who, on this the usually-appointed day, kept Christmas festivities as in the "good old times" of their fathers.

GEORGE LIPSCOMB, Esq., M.D.,

The Historian of Buckinghamshire.

(BY MR. ROBERT GIBBS.)

The late Dr. George Lipscomb, the historian of Bucks, was a native of Quainton. His father, Mr. James Lipscomb, was in early life a medical officer in the Royal Navy; he was eldest son and heir of Thomas Lipscomb, of Winchester, surgeon, by Mary Fussell, sister of the Rev. James Fussell, rector of Hardwick, in 1738. The Rev. Mr. Fussell died in 1760, bequeathing his estate in Hampshire to Mr. James Lipscomb, his nephew and heir-at-law, and his personal property to his niece, Mary Lipscomb; she became the wife of the Rev. Francis Gresley, LL.B., who was rector of Grendon, in 1759. Thus the introduction of the Lipscomb family into Buckinghamshire. Mr. James Lipscomb married Miss Mary George, of Grendon Underwood, a member of an old and reputable family of that village; these were the parents of Dr. George Lipscomb, the historian; they resided at one period at Quainton, but subsequently at Grendon Underwood. Mr. James Lipscomb died in 1794, and is buried in Quainton churchyard, where a memorial was erected to his memory by his widow and son. It bears this inscription—

Near this place
Are interred the remains of
Mr. James Lipscomb,
Surgeon,
Who in the early part of his life served in the
Royal Navy;
Was present in several memorable
Engagements by Sea;
And at the Sieges of Pondicherry and Manilla,
In the East Indies;
Always conducting himself with
Honour and Credit.
In the practice of the Profession which,
For nearly thirty years,
He followed in this Parish,
His Integrity and Humanity were generally
Acknowledged;
And he has left behind him the character of
An honest man!
He died December the 29th, 1794, aged 64.

The widow of Mr. James Lipscomb died at the "Magpie House," at Quainton, at an advanced age; she is remembered as a very superior and highly intelligent woman.

In the preface to his History of Buckinghamshire, Dr. George Lipscomb acknowledges that the originator of it was the late Rev. Edward Cooke, A.M., LL.B., rector of Haversham, whose collection of valuable and important materials formed the basis of the undertaking. This Mr. Cooke was a large contributor to several of the periodicals of his time; and though not the avowed author of any work bearing his name, is known to have afforded his co-operative assistance to many distinguished writers. He was an assiduous collector of books, and was possessed of an immense number of works and manuscripts relative to the history of his native county of Bucks, and it was by his generous beneficence that Dr. Lipscomb was able to avail himself of a vast deal of matter contained in his history. Mr. Cooke wrote a "History of Whaddon Chase," which, however, he did not live to complete. He died in 1824.

Dr. Lipscomb, notwithstanding, has the credit of the authorship of the "History of Bucks," and no one will be disposed to dispute his claim to that honour, as he devoted many years to the prosecution of it, exploring with assiduity the national records, the libraries of the metropolis, of the Universities of the United Kingdom, and all other depositories of manuscripts, charters, genealogical, biographical, and heraldic collections accessible to his diligent and respectful applications.

The publication is dated 1847, but Dr. Lipscomb had embarked in his enterprise some years previous to that date, and, as far as can be ascertained, his labour was one of great difficulty, and was performed at a great sacrifice of labour and capital. The period of the commencement of Dr. Lipscomb's task was one very different to the present. There were then no cheap postage, no rapid communication, no telegrams, no half-penny post-cards, no book post. In those days of dear postage but little information such as the author of an important work would require could be compressed into a single sheet of letter-paper, and a double sheet involved postage in an increased ratio. Dr. Lipscomb did not live to reap the fruits of his labours. From his letters it may

be inferred that his troubles were not only the usual "calamities of an author," but he had embarked in his undertaking without counting the cost, and was called upon to expend an amount of money which straitened him in his circumstances, and left him in financial embarrassments from which he never could extricate himself. In 1840 he thus writes—

"Dear Sir,—I am under a great obligation to you for the pains which you have taken to afford me information and assistance. . . . . I am sure that you perfectly well understand that it is not in my mind sufficient that the History of Buckinghamshire should be as well done in every respect as the history of any other county hitherto attempted, and that I shall not be satisfied with that, but that I am ambitious of a higher object, that the character of my work should place it foremost amongst the topographical labours of my countrymen whether of a former or of the present age.

"I am, Sir, once more,
"Your much obliged servant,
"*Sept. 30th*, 1840. G. Lipscomb.

Dr. Lipscomb's work is liberally illustrated with full-page and half-page engravings, vignettes, coats of arms, heraldic devices, &c. Some of the family pedigrees are of prodigious length, involving a great amount of labour, research, and cost. The outlay, as the work progressed, must consequently have been a serious one, and thus a high price per copy had to be charged to the subscribers to recoup the adventure. The purchase of the cheapest edition of the work involved an outlay of over £16, and this high price curtailed its sale. Still it found its way into the collections of the nobility and gentry, but its cost made it inaccessible to the general reader. A letter from the author shows that this difficulty was not overlooked by him. It is evident he was languishing for some return for his labour and expenditure, and he suggests the publication of a cheaper edition in smaller parts, and he writes thus on that point—

"Dear Sir,— . . . . . I feel no doubt I may confidently ask you a question which you will much oblige me by plainness and candour in your reply. . . . . I wish to know your opinion of a project which has not till lately come under my consideration. I have now fast approached the completion of the third part of Bucks, and I will not disguise it from you that I think the high price of the work is necessarily a great obstacle to obtaining numbers of subscribers who might wish to possess it. What think you, then, if I should adopt the expedient of

publishing an impression of the same size in every respect and with the same embellishments (the small paper, I mean), and dividing them into weekly or monthly numbers at from three shillings to five shillings each?

"Your obedient servant,

"London, *Dec. 2nd*, 1840. "G. Lipscomb."

A further proposition was to publish a history of the town of Aylesbury, as a separate and distinct work, but as it is probable the indefatigable author did not receive much encouragement, neither plan was carried out. In a letter to a friend at Aylesbury he asks for an opinion also on that point—

"Dear Sir,—Assured that I may rely with confidence on your friendly feelings towards me, I may submit to you a question to which I shall be much obliged by your candid answer. Having had repeated applications to publish an octavo volume, properly illustrated, the 'History of the Town, Borough, and Parish of Aylesbury,' do you think such a scheme feasible? and could you afford me (upon terms) your co-operative assistance in it? How many subscribers, if the volume makes about eight or ten sheets (at most), do you think might be depended upon in the vicinity, and at what price might it be charged?

"Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"G. Lipscomb, M.D.

"No. 47, Wellington Street, Newington, Surrey,

"July 1st, 1842."

On the subject of the "History of Aylesbury," he again writes:—

"No. 2, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

"Sir,— . . . . I have been preparing a very pretty and attractive vignette as the initial for the 'History of Aylesbury,' and I should have been very glad if I could have procured a copy of a slight sketch which I remember to have seen in my boyhood of the distant view of the old spire of the church on the face of clocks, made by either Mr. Stone or Mr. Quartermaine, of Aylesbury, for which I have repeatedly inquired in vain.

"Can you give me any account of old paintings or carvings in the 'George Inn' or 'White Hart,' of which my deceased correspondent, Sir Scropes B. Morland had repeatedly promised me more information than he lived to impart—the old carvings in the 'White Hart' said to have been brought from Salden.

"Do, pray, endeavour to get me a subscriber or two among your Aylesbury friends, for I am very poor, and this great work is exceedingly expensive, and exhausts all my means to the very dregs. I should esteem it a great kindness if you can get me an order even for a single copy.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"G. Lipscomb."

Dr. Lipscomb writes in a somewhat depressed strain as to his position as an author, still his work was commenced with a most flattering and elaborate list of

subscribers, including the names of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, his late Majesty King William IV., his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Bedford, Buckingham, Devonshire, Dorset, Grafton, Marlborough, Newcastle, Norfolk, Northumberland, Sutherland, Marquises of Anglesea, Bath, Conyngham, Earls Abingdon, Buckinghamshire, Burlington, Carlisle, Clarendon, Dartmouth, Essex, Harewood, Howe, Kinmore, Lonsdale, Macclesfield, Shrewsbury, Spencer, the Countesses Bridgewater, Paulet, Sefton, a long array of Lords and Ladies, Right Hons., Hons., Barts., and most of the gentry and opulent farmers and residents in Bucks and the adjacent counties—altogether numbering about three hundred. The first part of the work is frequently to be met with in families in Quainton and the neighbouring district; the succeeding parts are more scarce, which leads to the supposition that its probable ultimate cost occasioned many of the original subscribers to decline proceeding to its completion.

The works of our most eminent historians are not faultless, and to pronounce Lipscomb's work to be strictly accurate and in every minute detail without errors, would be saying too much for it. The author himself did not hope to escape criticism on this point, but claims indulgence under the peculiar disadvantages of his having to tread the mazy wilds of antiquarian research, without a beacon and without a guide, and to explore a labyrinth hitherto unassailed. Without detracting from the merits of old Browne Willis, the Lysons, Mr. Langley, or any other local historian, I have no hesitation in asserting that Dr. Lipscomb's work will, as a local history, become invaluable as a standard of reference. To him the inhabitants of Bucks are greatly indebted for raising the history of their county from comparative obscurity.

Of the latter years of Dr. Lipscomb's life little can be gleaned. He never appears to have had a permanent residence at Quainton, but for some years resided at a little villa residence at the south end of the village of Whitchurch; here he pursued his medical practice, and was recognized as the village doctor. Eventually he left the country to reside in London. About the year 1840 his letters are addressed from various parts of the

metropolis, and it may be assumed that at this period he had no settled residence. So embarrassed became the state of his affairs eventually, that it is said a portion of his work was written within the precincts of the Queen's Bench, or whilst he was under the jurisdiction of the "Liberties of the Fleet Prison" as a debtor. He is last traced to lodgings in Westminster, where, or in the neighbourhood, he died in abject poverty and distress; the precise date of his death has not been ascertained. His wife pre-deceased him, and they left no issue. The history was not finished at the time of Dr. Lipscomb's decease, but as it was in the hands of energetic publishers it was completed by them, and the latter portions of it will well compare with the earlier published parts. The index to the work is a most comprehensive one, and displays great and laborious care in its compilation. The work is comprised in two editions, royal folio and royal quarto, and the eight parts in which it was first published form four volumes. The possession of a copy is a valuable acquisition to the library of any gentleman.

Mr. C. Lamborn of Bierton has sent for insertion in the Records the following extract from the original in the possession of Mr. Durley of Bierton :—

"Sept: 9, 1755.

"The Covrt Cvstomes of

"The Maner of Bierton, With Hvlkett in the Covnty of Bvcks.

"We the Jvry Belonging to the said maner whose Names are hear vnder written, Do hearby present and afirm That The Ancheint Cvstomes of ovr Maner is as foloweth, namely, one years Qvittrent on Every Death or Change and no more. And Six Shillings for His Admittance and Six Shillings for the Copy, And foar pence The Cryer, and no more. And Likewise The Ancheint Cvstome of our Maner is, That There mvst be a Covrt Kept once in three years. And Likewise, That The Man and his Wife in Teaking vp together Shall pay no more than a Single Person.

"And the Ancheint Cvstome of ovr Maner is, That For a Pvrchased Covrt is paid Dovble Qvittrent, and 2 povnds two shillings To the Steward and one shilling to Every Jvryman and Double Feess to the Cryer of the Covrt, And shall pay for The admittance at the Covrt; Bvt The Copy not to be Paid for Vntil it is delivered; And Likewise That any Person may Refer taking vp vntil the Third Covrt withovt any Danger.

"And also that for The Poclamatione is to be paid one shilling and no more, and it is also nesassry to Be Remembered That There is no Hayott Land in My Lord Fortiscves Maner in this Parrish.

"And the Cvstome is Likewise That The Clark of the Parrish is allways Cryer of The Covrt.

	Henry Webb.	Richard Baldrick.
	Thomas Monk.	Richard Edwards.
	Wm. Stratfold.	Wm. Cox.
	Thomos Crips.	John Hoar.
The mark R of	Robert Holt.	Richard Hoar.
	Wm. Webb.	Wm. Webb, Juner."

Jos. Tibbett.

Proceedings of the Society, 1878.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, July 22nd, at Wooburn House, the seat of Alfred Gilbey, Esq., one of the Members of the Society. The programme for the Excursion was so attractive, that a large number of members and their friends availed themselves of Mr. Gilbey's proffered hospitality, and of the opportunity of visiting the most interesting and picturesque part of South Bucks. They left Aylesbury, by the Great Western Railway, at 9.20 a.m., and arrived at Bourne End at 10.20. Here they entered the carriages which were waiting, and drove through Hedsor Park, the seat of Lord Boston, to the bottom of the hill. Alighting, and ascending the hill on foot, they halted opposite a gigantic yew-tree, twenty-seven feet in girth, when the Rev. G. M. Robins, rector of Hedsor, read the following account of it, given to him by Lord Boston, for the truth of which he would not vouch:—

"The yews of the Abbey of Fountains are more than twelve centuries old; the yew at Partingale, in Perthshire, is more than twice that age; but the Brabourne yew, in Kent, is supposed to be three thousand years of age; and probably that of Hedsor, in Buckinghamshire, is three hundred years older still. In other words, the Hedsor yew was planted when Hercules had scarcely emerged in the Greek mythology, and existed before Homer and the taking of Troy."

Then they moved on to Hedsor Church, and, on the way, stopped on a knoll of the hill to gaze upon a magnificent panorama of the Thames Valley. Hedsor Church, dedicated to St. Nicholas, is said to have been rebuilt by Roland Hynde, who presented to the living in 1575, but certainly only in part, as some portions are evidently of an earlier date. In the chancel the windows have some remains of old stained glass, illustrative of Scripture history. Close to the church is the site of a minor ecclesiastical building, supposed to have been attached to Burnham Abbey; the only remains are an early English capital and a broken shaft. Walking on to Hedsor House, the members inspected the interior, which contains some valuable pictures, an elegant clock, presented, in the year 1690, to Lord Boston, Ambassador at Constantinople, by the Sultan of Turkey, and an old illustrated Bible, with the lids inlaid with medallions, presented by the University of Cambridge to Henry, Earl of Holland, when he was Chancellor of Cambridge. From the house the members walked through the gardens, and, crossing the road, entered the grounds of Cliveden, the property of the Duke of Westminster. Arriving at a summer-house, the Secretary read the following account from the *Gardeners' Chronicle*:—

"Cliveden estate occupies an elevated plateau on the chalk some three hundred acres in extent. It lies a few miles distant from Taplow and Maidenhead, and is bounded by the Taplow Court, Dropmore, and Hedsor estates, and for a great part of its extent by the river Thames. On the one side is a steep cliff overhanging the river richly draped with clematis,

and where the sinuous roots of aged yews hang on for very life, like so many pythons. On the other sides are woods, rich, deep, glorious, pierced with openings to let in the distant views, and traversed by green paths and noble avenues. Between the two are spacious lawns surrounding the mansion, with its terraces, greenhouses, fruit-houses, and other offices. Cliveden was built by George Villiers, the profligate Duke of Buckingham, the friend of Charles II., a man whose character has been sketched by many, from Dryden to Macaulay, but never in clearer outline than by the first-named, who speaks of Buckingham as—

'A man so various that he seemed to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome :
Stiff in opinion, always in the wrong,
Was everything by fits, and nothing long ;
But in the course of one revolving moon
Was chemist, statesman, fiddler, and buffoon ;
Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
Beside a thousand freaks that died in thinking.'

Pope refers to the same versatile profligate in some lines commemorative of one of the many incidents of his career, and wherein mention is specially made of—

'Cliefden's proud alcove,
The abode of wanton Shrewsbury and of love,'

in allusion to the intrigue of the Duke and the Countess of Shrewsbury. The Countess was as unprincipled as the Duke himself, if not worse, for it is recorded of her that, in the guise of a page, she held the Duke's horse while he killed her husband in a duel—a story we should be glad, for the credit of human nature, if some historian of the future would kindly prove to be untrue.

"Poetical justice, however, has befallen Buckingham in more senses than one, as witness the following lines relating to him :—

'Mark where in ruins lies the last retreat of motley Villiers.
* * * * *
Here sunk in sorrow and deprived of all,
They saw him greatly live and meanly fall.'
* * * * *
'In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half hung,
The floors of plaster, and the walls of dung,
On once a flock bed, but repaired with straw,
With tape-tyed curtains never meant to draw,
The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
Great Villiers lies.'

The poets have, we suspect, secured a longer, or at least a more widely spread, remembrance to this unprincipled man (who died in 1688) than the historians could have done

"The mansion was added to by the first Earl of Orkney, who occupied it until 1735. Frederick, Prince of Wales, occupied it until 1756, and it was during his tenancy that a poet and a musician contributed to encourage and stimulate the patriotic feelings of Britons as much—nay, much more—than the treacheries and faithlessness of Buckingham served to humiliate and depress them, for it was in a chambered vault underneath the dining-room at Cliveden that it was first authoritatively pronounced (in 1740) that 'Britannia rules the waves,' and that 'Britons never will be slaves'—the occasion being the performance, for the first time, of the

'Masque of Liberty,' written by James Thomson, and containing the now well-known song, set to music by Dr. Arne.

"Villiers's house was burnt in 1795, owing to the carelessness of a maid-servant addicted to the practice of novel reading in bed. The estate was purchased by Sir George Warrender, in 1822 or 1823, and the mansion was rebuilt by him in 1830. In 1849 it was purchased by the late Duke of Sutherland, and shared the fate of its predecessor in November of the same year. The present mansion was completed in 1851, in the Italian style. It was designed by Sir Charles Barry for the late Duke of Sutherland, to whom, as to the fine taste of the late Duchess, much of the beauty of Cliveden is due. The property was purchased by the Duke of Westminster in 1869, and since his occupation many improvements have been carried out. The terrace front is nearly 400 feet in length and 26 feet in width, and overlooks a noble sward bedecked with flower-beds, and which is reached by a handsome flight of steps, gracefully and naturally draped with climbers. The entrance front of the mansion on the opposite side is recessed, somewhat after the fashion of Versailles. On one side is an elegant campanile, and near it, but screened from view, are the various offices, and the forcing-houses and vineries, etc. On the opposite side of the mansion are the conservatories and glazed corridors, the former not in keeping with the rest of the building, and destined probably to be replaced by a structure more in consonance with the fine proportions and elegant design of the mansion, and with the requirements of its inmates."

Strolling through the beautiful grounds of Cliveden, and looking at a cedar of Lebanon brought by Mr. Disraeli from the Holy Land, and presented to the Duchess of Sutherland, the former possessor of this magnificent estate, the party entered and were shown over the mansion, and afterwards walked through the gardens to the Duke's fishing cottage, where they partook of an excellent luncheon provided by A. Gilbey, Esq. They then proceeded to Hitcham Church. The pillars of the chancel arch are evidently Norman, and the windows contain specimens of old stained glass. There are some monuments and fine brasses of the sixteenth century; one of the former blocks up the sedilia, but the rector, the Rev. J. Frewer, will remove it at his own cost. The key of the church, of the time of Edward III., was found in the library of Eton College, in whose gift the living is; the wards of the key represent the form of the capital letter E.

The ruins of Burnham Abbey were next visited. They are in a very dilapidated condition, but very interesting. W. L. Rutton, Esq., C.E., exhibited a plan of the ruins, and gave an epitome of an elaborate paper he had prepared on them. This paper will be printed in the next number of the Records of Buckinghamshire. From Burnham Abbey the party proceeded to Burnham Church. Here the Archdeacon of Buckingham read a paper, written by a Mr. Webster in 1809, taken chiefly from the histories of the county. He also read a paper by S. Christie-Miller, Esq., churchwarden, giving a description of several restorations since the year 1848.

Leaving Burnham, the members drove to the celebrated "Burnham Beeches," a spot resorted to by every lover of woodland scenery. The old "Beeches" are of immense girth, and have all been "pollarded." The tenants of the adjoining lands, where not one tree is "pollarded," were bound by their leases not to cut or lop any tree except pollards. But the land on which the "Beeches" grow, being a common of about four hundred acres, and coal being scarce, the trees, amongst which were some oaks, were probably "pollarded" by or for the benefit of the surrounding cottagers. Here, also, the remains of a Roman camp, with its vallum, about an acre in extent, was visited.

Emerging from the "Beeches," the members drove through the beautiful park of Dropmore, celebrated for the variety and growth of trees from all quarters of the globe, especially the *Araucaria imbricata*. Thence they proceeded to Wooburn Church, which has been fully described by the Rev. A. B. Ashley in the RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, vol. iv., page 16, and upon which Mr. Ashley read a paper afterwards at the annual meeting. The short distance from the church to Wooburn House, the seat of Alfred Gilbey, Esq., was soon passed over, and the members found themselves seated at the hospitable table of A. Gilbey, Esq.

After dinner, A. Gilbey, Esq., rose, and proposed "The health of the Queen and the rest of the Royal Family." This toast is always heartily received by every Englishman, and this day they had almost been within the shadow of Windsor Castle, and therefore they ought not to pass over the loyal toast. The toast was followed by a verse of the National Anthem.

A. Gilbey, Esq., again rose, and said, "This house was formerly a palace of the Bishops of Lincoln, and therefore the toast of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese was particularly appropriate. With it he would couple the name of the Archdeacon of Buckingham."

The Ven. Archdeacon Percy-Cust, in returning thanks, said they had been reminded that their place of meeting had formerly been the residence of the Bishops of Lincoln, and the clergy might therefore well be found taking part in the proceedings of that most enjoyable day. These meetings always brought back some pleasant memories. They saw some beautiful country, and formed associations with old friends and neighbours. They had seen that day many interesting and beautiful places, and they were now assembled round the hospitable board of their good friend Mr. Gilbey. He felt that this certainly was one of the days and occasions in which the clergy ought to participate, and which always repaid them for the few hours the excursion occupied. He hoped and trusted that what they had seen with their eyes would be developed in their minds during the ensuing year, for such expeditions were not merely the going out for a day's pleasure, but for instruction in archæology and architecture. After enlarging further upon the usefulness of such gatherings, and congratulating the secretary upon the admirable papers which he and the Society had been the means of bringing out, he concluded by expressing his hope that the Society, which had done much good in the past, would long continue to do the same useful work in the future.

Mr. Du Pré proposed the next toast, "The health of their excellent host, Mr. Gilbey, whose unbounded hospitality had done so much to add to the pleasure of their meeting, and who had received them in so admirable a manner." He adverted to the former history of the house they were in as having been the residence of the Bishop of Lincoln, and also of the Duke of Wharton. It was now the abode of their worthy host, who had bestowed upon it an amount of care and expenditure which was certainly most grateful to himself (Mr. Du Pré) as the present proprietor of it.

Mr. Gilbey, in responding, gave the company a short account of how he chanced to settle down in that part of the county, which was owing to the representations of their worthy Vicar, which in the first instance brought him down to see Wooburn House, and the kind reception he had from Mr. Du Pré completed his determination to remain there. He assured them that it gave him the greatest possible pleasure to receive the Bucks Archæological Society there that day, and he hoped he should attend many more of its meetings; and should they again hold their meetings in that part of the county, he should be equally delighted as he was at the present to see them again at Wooburn.

The Archdeacon proposed "The health of the Secretary," the Rev. C.

Lowndes, whose labours in the cause of archæology in Bucks he warmly eulogized.

Mr. Lowndes, in reply, said he had now been secretary for the last twenty years, and he had been in hopes of retiring, but should continue to hold that office for another year. One great reason why he liked the meetings of that Society was, that they brought friends together. They were now about to hold the Annual Meeting, and he called upon Mr. Du Pré to take the chair for that purpose.

Mr. Du Pré having done so, the first business done was the unanimous re-election of all the vice-presidents, the honorary secretary, the treasurer, and the auditors.

Mr. Lowndes, as treasurer, said he had now 3s. 6d. in hand, which was better than last year, when he was 10*l.* out of pocket, owing to arrears of subscriptions, which had during the year been collected.

The following new members, who had been proposed and seconded in due course at a committee meeting, were now admitted Sir Philip Rose, Raynors; Rev. W. E. Mallaher, Weson Turville; Mr. T. Wild, Chalfont St. Giles; Mr. H. E. Friend, High Street, Wycombe; W. Booth, Esq., Stone; A. Vernon, Esq., Wycombe; Rev. J. Robertson, Great Marlow; G. Fell, Esq., Aylesbury.

The Rev. F. B. Ashley, vicar of Wooburn, then read a paper on Wooburn Church, which will be printed in the next number of the RECORDS.

The Chairman proposed the health of Mr. Ashley, who briefly replied.

Some rubbings of brasses, relics, and Roman coins were then exhibited, and the company broke up for the neighbouring railway station at Wooburn Green, and thence took train for Aylesbury.

At page 41, line 12 from the bottom, mention is made of an interesting old Bible in Hedsor House. On the fly-leaf is the following inscription :—

"My Father and Mother's Bible,
Aug. the 30th in the year, 1655,
fra Paget's
book.

My Father was beheaded the 9th March, 1648. My Mother died in the year 1655, Aug. 30 day. My Sister Suffolk died 10 weeks after my Father.

Isabella Pagett, given me by my Lord, 1684.

My Son, William Pagett, was born at our house in the old Pallas Yard, the 20th of February, 1684-5."

The accompanying pedigree, supplied by a friend of the Archdeacon of Buckingham, will fully explain the above inscription.

HENRY RICH, = ISABEL,
Lord Kensington, and Earl of Holland, beheaded 9th of March, 1648-9.
daughter of Sir William Cope.

"My Father was beheaded the 9th March, 1648."

"My Mother died in the year 1685, Aug. 30 day."

WILLIAM PAGET, = Lady FRANCES RICH.
5th Baron Paget, died 1678.

"fra Paget's book."

Sir JAMES HOWARD, = Lady SUSAN.
Earl of Suffolk, 1640; died 1688.

"My Sister Suffolk died 10 weeks after my Father."

1st wife, FRANCES PIERPOINT. — WILLIAM, 6th Baron Paget, died 1713. = 2nd wife, ISABELLA IRBY.

"Isabella Pagett. Given me by my Lord."

WILLIAM, died young.

"My son, William Pagett, was born at our house in old Pallas Yard, 1684-5.

Burnham Abbey West View. 1878.

Burnham Abbey. East view 1878.

Burnham Abbey. West view. from Monast. Anglic. Edition 1830.

B.

BURNHAM ABBEY.

BY WM. LOFTIE RUTTON, C.E.

A visit made last summer to the remains of Burnham Abbey interested the writer in its history, and the suggestion of his companion that an account of it might be acceptable to the Architectural and Archæological Society of Buckinghamshire, on the occasion of a proposed visit to the spot, induced him to collect the information which he has now the pleasure of contributing.

It may be well first to name the books that mention the Abbey, in order that reference may be made to such works by any whose interest in the subject may so incline them.

Not a little disappointing is it that Matthew Paris, who lived and wrote his valuable chronicle at the time of the founding of the Abbey, makes no mention of it. The Monk Historian tells us much about Richard King of the Romans, the founder, and in a very interesting manner describes the foundation and dedication of Hales Abbey in Gloucestershire, by the same Prince, even stating its cost as related to him by the Prince himself;* but although this record of Hales leads us to expect similar mention of Burnham, we are in that disappointed.

The oldest book in which we glean information is Speed's "Historie of Great Britaine," published in 1611, and here there is merely a line, in a table of the suppressed monasteries, stating the name of the founder, the date, the order of the nuns, and the revenue at the dissolution.† Next in Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum," date 1655—1673, we have the Foundation Charter in Latin, nothing more.‡ Browne Willis, to whom archæologists are so greatly indebted, published in 1718-19 his "History of Abbeys, extracted," as the title sets forth, "out of very curious manuscripts, etc., which have

* M. Paris, Giles Trans., vol. ii., pp. 177 and 464.
† Speed's History, ed. 1632, p. 1044.
‡ Monas. Angl., ed. 1682, p. 534.

been many years collecting by the most eminent antiquarians, and faithfully published." Willis's account of the Abbey, though concise, is very valuable, the main facts of its history are here for the first time collected, and the results of his research have been used by all succeeding writers. He does not, however, specify, as we might wish, the "curious manuscripts" from which he has derived his information, and somewhat strangely omits the name of the founder, which must have been known to him from the Foundation Charter, cited in the "Monasticon Anglicanum."* Very soon after Willis we have Stevens's "History of the Antient Abbeys," published in 1722 as an addition to the Monasticon, but in respect to Burnham merely quoting Willis."† Next we have the valuable "Notitia Monastica" of Bishop Tanner, published in 1744, in which the founder is named, and a list given of the ancient documents bearing on the Abbey's history.‡

Lysons's "Magna Britania," 1813, in addition to what we have already learned, affords us the history of the Manor of Burnham, which belonged to the Abbey.§ A new "Monasticon Anglicanum," by Caley, Ellis, and Bandinal, appeared in 1830; it is a large work of eight folio volumes, handsomely illustrated with engravings, and professing to be only a new edition of the old work used as its basis, is very much more comprehensive. It arranges all the facts hitherto ascertained, annexes the Foundation Charter and a return of the property belonging to the house at the time of its dissolution, and moreover furnishes an excellently engraved view of the ruins, supplied to the editor by the then proprietor, Lord Grenville.‖

Lastly, Dr. Lipscomb's "Antiquities of the County of Buckingham," published in 1847, contains the most complete account, compiled in the main from the authors preceding him. Accompanying the text there is a small woodcut, representing a portion of the ruins; it is, how-

* B. Willis's Hist. Abbeys, vol. ii., p. 15.
† Stevens's Hist. Abbeys, vol. i., p. 521.
‡ Notitia Monas., ed. 1744, p. 32.
§ Lysons's Mag. Brit., vol. Bucks, p. 531.
‖ Mon. Ang., vol. vi. pt. 1, p. 545.

over, very inaccurate, and appears to be a drawing from imperfect recollection, rather than a sketch made on the spot.*

In regard to the foundation of the Abbey, Bishop Tanner states that "Richard King of the Romans, A.D. 1265, began here a nunnery of the order of St. Augustine," and he gives as his authority the Lincoln Registers, that see having formerly, and until late years, included Buckinghamshire.† Also the Foundation Charter, dated 18th April, 1266, by which the same Prince grants to the Abbey the Manor of Burnham and other lands, clearly sets forth that these grants were made to the "Monastery of Burnham, *which we have caused to be founded*" (quod fundari fecimus).‡ Nevertheless, with this evidence before him, Mr. Cole, known in his day as the "Cambridge Antiquary," and now by the many volumes of valuable manuscripts which he bequeathed to the British Museum, finds room for doubt whether the Prince really founded the Abbey. Mr. Cole, who was for six years (1774—80) Vicar of Burnham, and must therefore have taken special interest in the antiquities of his parish, bases his doubt on the fact that the Monastery had not adopted the arms of the King of the Romans, but those, with a difference merely of colour, of the family of De Molins; from which circumstance he reasons that one of that family may have been the real founder, although, as had been done in other cases, the lustre of a royal name was borrowed, the Prince thus becoming the nominal founder.§ But there is no evidence that the Abbey derived any benefit from the De Molins family till seventy-three years after its foundation; that is, till 1338, when Edward III. conferred the advowson on Sir John de Molins, who had some few years previously obtained by marriage the adjacent Manor of Stoke Poges, and Sir John (whether before or after becoming patron is uncertain) endowed the Abbey with his Manor of Silverton, in Northamptonshire.‖

It is probable that at this time in acknowledgment of

* Lipscomb's Antiq., vol. iii., p. 206.
† Not. Mon., ed. 1744, p. 32.
‡ Mon. Aug., 1830, vol. vi., pt. 1, p. 546
§ Cole's MSS., vol. xxxii., p. 38.
‖ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii., p. 145.

benefits derived from its new patron, the Abbey assumed his arms with a difference; prior to this period, it is possible that no arms had been adopted, for which supposition there appears to be some reason in the fact that the arms of the founder were already borne by the older and more important Abbey of Hales.* However this may be, surely in the circumstance that Burnham did not bear the shield of its founder, but that of a later patron, there is not sufficient reason for casting doubt on a fact so plainly recorded in the Lincoln Register,† and set forth in the Foundation Charter; the Prince in the latter document appearing not only the nominal but the virtual founder, by his grant to the House of its earliest and chief endowments.

In regard to the arms which occasioned Mr. Cole's doubt as to the founder, Browne Willis states them as depicted in the sketch accompanying this paper; ‡ he does not give his authority, and Mr. Cole points out that the reading is probably incorrect as being "false heraldry," or metal on metal. The question is merely one of colour; the arms are shown on the seal attached to the instrument of surrender, from which, however, it is impossible to learn the *tinctures*. Mr. Cole, on the other hand, has noted in his MS. certain arms which he found in a window of Burnham Church in 1761, several years before he became vicar; he was not at the time aware that they pertained to the Abbey, but afterwards discovered this, and then, as is apparent in the MS., he added words to that effect.§ The shield he noted in the window is the centre sketch; it is, probably, the correct representation, the field and charges being *gules*, and not *or*, as stated by Willis. The arms of De Molins (or Molyns or Moleyns), preserved, as we learn from Mr. Cole,‖ in a MS. in the library of King's College, Cambridge, were *sable* on a chief *argent* three lozenges of

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* For arms of Hales Abbey, see Tanner's Not. Mon., p. xlv.

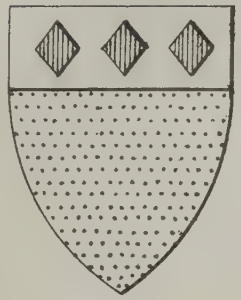
† Extracts from the register have been courteously supplied to the writer by one of the Lincoln Canons, and are appended. (See p. 67.)

‡ B. Willis, Hist. Abbeys, vol. ii., p. 16.

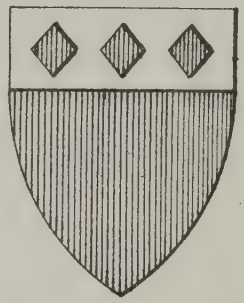
§ Cole MSS. vol. xxxii., p. 27. The unfortunate destruction of the arms is also recorded.

‖ Ibid., p. 38. The family of De Molins died out in 1428. Tombs of the family are to be seen in the church of Stoke Poges.

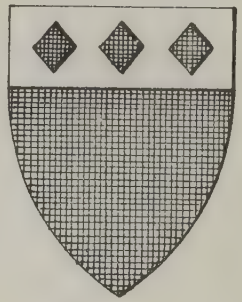
Burnham Abbey.



Arms according to Browne Willis; probably incorrect, as shewing metal on metal.



Arms according to Mr. Cole formerly shewn in a window of Burnham Church.



Arms of Sir John de Molyns;-patron 1338; whence the Abbey arms were probably derived.

Gowers Anastatic Press Norwich

W.L.R.

the field, and for *sable* substituting *gules*, we have, most probably, the arms of the Abbey.

The history of the founder of any edifice or institution is so much a part of its own history, that a short sketch of the career of Richard King of the Romans, seems here to be demanded. He was the second son of King John, nephew to his famous namesake Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and brother to King Henry III., in whose reign he was a very prominent, if not the most prominent, character. Endowed with greater ability, prudence, and firmness, than the weak, impetuous king, he obtained considerable ascendency over him, and, as Earl of Cornwall and Count of Poictou, was granted great estates and revenues, as well as other means of acquiring wealth, by which he so adroitly, and not always scrupulously, profited, that he came to be regarded as the richest prince in Christendom. He is accused of cupidity and violence, but the times were rough, the strong will aided by the strong sword dominated, and it was well when valour and generosity redeemed in some degree the less noble qualities of the warrior. If Richard took with one hand, he gave away with the other, and many proofs exist of his munificence. As before shown, besides Burnham Abbey, he founded that of Hales, on which Paris records he spent 10,000 marks,* which sum would now be equivalent to about £190,000, and these were not the only Religious Houses which benefited by his wealth and liberality. On account of his princely qualities, but more because of his great wealth, he was, in 1257, elected to the Imperial Throne of Germany, then vacant, by certain of the Prince Electors of the Empire, and, his ambition overcoming his prudence, he accepted the perilous distinction offered to him. The Empire at that time was in a state of distraction, almost indeed of dissolution, consequent upon the long-continued struggle for supremacy between the Emperors and the Popes, the valiant Emperor Frederick II., the last of his line, having died six years previously, deserted by fortune, and deposed by his papal enemies.

After his death three Princes in succession were elected to the throne by the dominant portion of the Diet, not by all the Princes who were rightfully electors. The

* M. Paris, Giles Trans., vol. ii., p. 464.

last of these three Princes thus elected was Richard, the King of England's brother; he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle with all due and accustomed solemnity, receiving the title, "King of the Romans." The nature of the title is well explained by Speed, in his notice of the event. "The greatest worldly honour that since Constantine ever fell upon an English subject was at this time, in regard both of his birth and riches, derived and tendered to Richard, Earl of Cornwall . . . who from thenceforth was King of the Romans, that is Emperour elect, which title is used till they receive the crown imperial, though to all purposes he is Emperour, so that King of Romans seems to answer to the title of Cæsar, which under the ancient Roman Emperours was given to the heire-apparent of the Empire, or Coadjutors."*

The Sovereigns of Germany, or rather of the Empire, which included Germany and Italy, claimed to be the successors of the Roman Emperors of the West, and derived that title originally from the Pope, however questionable may have been his competence to grant it. The Sovereign was elected by the Diet of Princes, and by them crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, or other of the chief places of the Empire, but it became established that the full Imperial dignity was not acquired until the Pope, with his own hands, had conferred the Imperial Crown.

Thus there was a coronation at Rome to follow that of Aix-la-Chapelle, and in many instances the second ceremony did not take place until after the lapse of some years, the delay arising from the difficulties and contentions which, in those very turbulent times, the sovereign had to surmount before he could reach Rome. The position of the Sovereign in the meantime seems to have been King of Germany and Italy, and Emperor elect, and the title used until the full Imperial dignity had been attained was King of the Romans, which, as Speed says, meant Emperor elect. Moreover, the Imperial Crown being elective, not hereditary, many of the Emperors in order during their lifetime to secure the succession to their sons, had them elected by the Diet, and on the heir thus created was then conferred the above title.

Richard, elected by the Princes of the Diet, though

* Speed's History, Ed. 1632, p. 616.

not by the whole body, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, became Emperor elect or expectant, and according to custom received the title King of the Romans, which he henceforth used — not that of Emperor, by which he has been sometimes erroneously designated. Ambition doubtless lured him with the prospect of triumph over such of the Princes who opposed him, their submission to his sovereignty, the union of the factions in his interest, and ultimately the sanction of the Pope and coronation from his hands. But although he obtained considerable success over his opponents, whom, Paris says, he "subdued, enticed, and attached to his cause," * though acts of imperial authority, and acts of great service to the Empire are recorded of him, and though his partial sovereignty was maintained for a period of fourteen years, that is until his death, yet the full measure of his ambition was not attained; his crown could have brought him but little satisfaction, his wealth being wasted in attempts to conciliate the greedy Princes who had elected him, only that they might enrich themselves. Paris recounts, that he took with him to Germany, "never to return," seven hundred thousand pounds,† which would now be represented by about twenty millions sterling; ‡ to this statement we may have difficulty in giving full credence, but we can readily believe that the sum was immense and the expenditure enormous.

Although after his acceptance of sovereignty in Germany, he passed several lengthened periods there, he by no means disassociated himself from the affairs of

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* M. Paris, Giles Trans., vol. iii., p. 266.

† Ibid., vol. iii., p. 230.

‡ It is not possible accurately to determine the value of money at a former period of our history, or to state its present equivalent. The difference of *nominal value*, or that resulting from the greater or less number of shillings into which, by State enactments, the pound Troy of silver has been divided, can readily be ascertained; the cost of commodities may also be compared, old accounts for this purpose furnishing sufficient data; but the difference in the value of money attributable to change in the mode of living and of social habits, and consequently of the necessities or demands of life (the luxuries of one age becoming the necessities of another), cannot with precision be estimated. The result, however, of a careful calculation made by the writer is, that for the conversion of sums mentioned at the periods respectively of the foundation and dissolution of Burnham Abbey, 28 may be used as an approximate multiple for the former, and 9 for the latter period.

his own country, now involved in trouble through the misgovernment of its weak monarch. In the contentions between the King and Barons he appears to have acted the part of mediator as long as it was possible, and when at last arms were resorted to, he supported, as was natural, the cause of the King, although differences between the Royal Brothers had previously not been infrequent.

After the battle of Lewes, in which the Royal cause was defeated, he had to endure nine months' imprisonment in the Tower; in the following year, that is in 1265, peace was made through Richard's influence, and as an act of thanksgiving to Heaven, it is said, he then founded Burnham Abbey. Afterwards he passed about three years in his German kingdom, from which he returned finally in 1268, and having lived peacefully and usefully another three years, he closed his eventful life at his Castle of Berkhampstead, on April 2nd, 1272, a few months before the King, his brother, his body being interred at the Abbey of Hales, among the scanty ruins of which, his grave is now unmarked and unknown.

The Foundation Charter of Burnham (appended to this paper) is in Latin, and couched in the customary royal and legal phraseology. The founder is "Richard by the grace of God, King of the Romans ever Augustus," the royal deed is given at Cippenham (called throughout Cippeham), where there then existed a palace, and is dated "the ninth year of our reign," the witnesses being Henry, King of England; Prince Edward, his son; the Princes Henry and Edmund, sons of the founder, and others of less exalted station. The Abbey by this charter is endowed with the manor of Burnham, with all rights attaching to it, and the advowson of the parish; also with certain lands and woods specified in the manor of Cippenham. Later, the house possessed the manors, or portions of the manors of Stoke, Bulstrode, and Beaconsfield; in 1339, the manors of Holmer and Little Missenden were granted by Roger Le Strange; * and in the same year was made the gift of Silverton manor, in Northamptonshire, by Sir John de Molins. Burnham

* Heir of his uncle, Eubolo L e Strange, who, *jure uxoris*, was Earl of Lincoln, or was so styled.

market tolls were also in the hands of the Abbess. The total annual income at the dissolution, according to the statement of the King's Commissioners—to which, knowing how iniquitously the returns were made, we can attach but little credence—was £91 5s. 11d.,* equal in our money to about £820. This amount was subject to various "reprises and deductions," which left £51 2s. 4d. clear, now equivalent to say £460. This income would—to get an idea of it—have paid the annual stipends of eleven priests of that time; but after taking the most enlarged view possible of the Abbey's revenue, and thinking it understated by the Commission, we must come to the conclusion that, gauged by its wealth, the House occupied but a humble position in the list of monasteries; it was, indeed, one of the *Lesser Monasteries*, as by the act were denominated all that had not an income of £200 per annum. The income of Hales, which, as we have seen, had the same founder, was nearly four times that of Burnham.

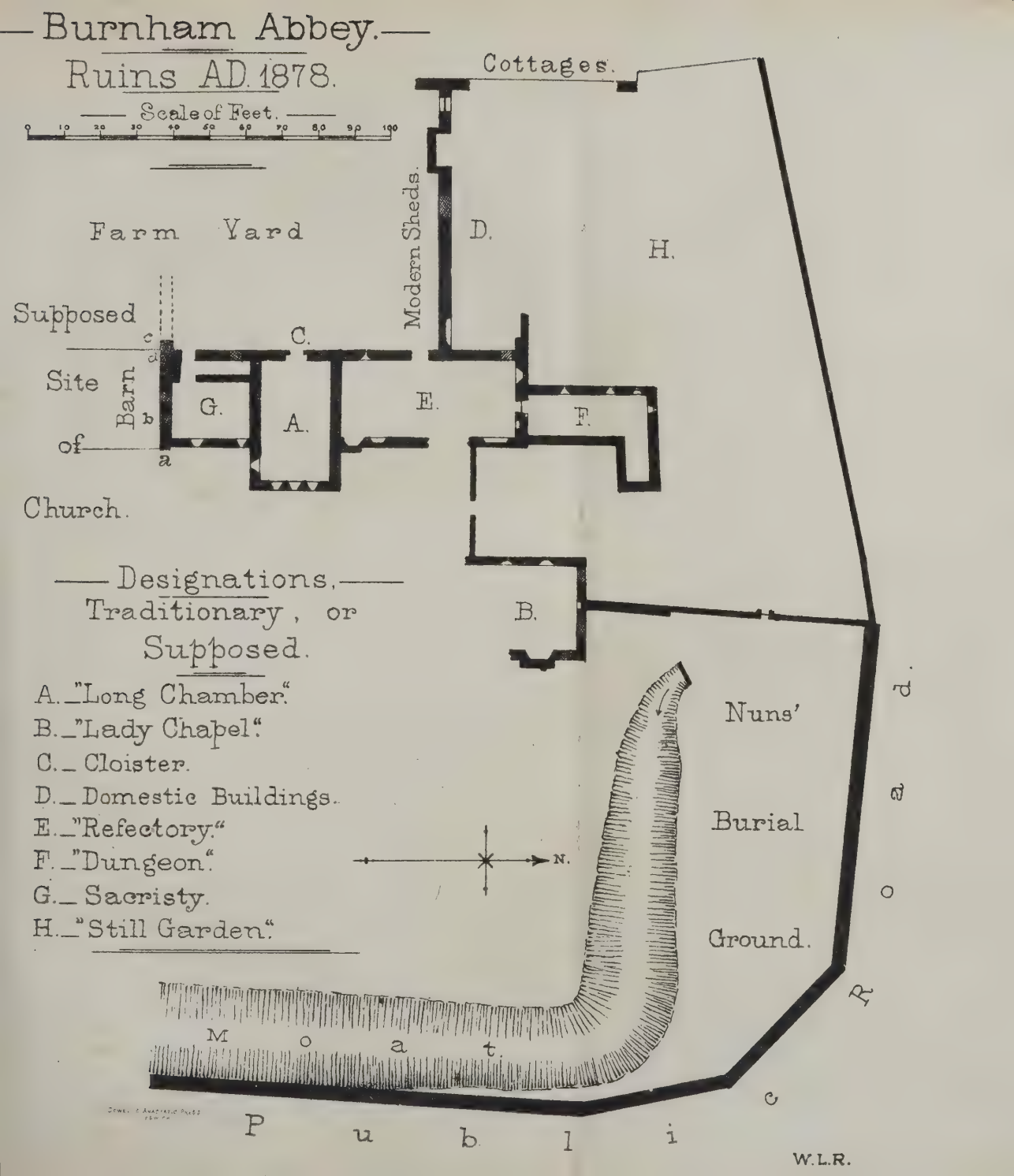
Let us give attention now to that part of our subject which probably is the most generally interesting, namely, the fabric of the Abbey, its church, and conventual buildings. We have no account of it, as it existed nearly three and a half centuries ago, when the abbess and nine nuns, with their dependants, inhabited here. The earliest account of the building, and it is very slight, is that of Browne Willis, who wrote one hundred and sixty years ago, but not until one hundred and eighty years had passed over the ruined Abbey, for it is probable that it was, in part at least, demolished immediately after the surrender; and the earliest view we have, taken in 1730, is too late to assist, but in a very slight degree, our conjecture of the fabric in its entirety. We can only examine the ruined portions of the monastery as we now find them, hear what tradition may say in respect to them, and thus form our surmises. Our first wish will be to see the church of the Abbey, always the principal and most interesting building of the Religious Establishment. But, alas! no portion of these ruins will satisfy our expectations. The principal division now existing (A on

* Speed's History, ed. 1632, p. 1044, and Monas. Ang. 1830, vol. vi., pt. i., p. 545.

plan) is an apartment—nothing more than an apartment —33 ft. in length from west to east, and 20 ft. in width, it is entered by a handsome pointed arch unmistakably of the date at which we learn the Abbey was founded, and of that pure early Gothic which commands in so great a degree our admiration—nay, even our reverence—associated as it is with the worship of generations long passed away, and in this place made venerable by the impress of six centuries. Three narrow lancet windows at the east end, fifteen inches on the exterior, splayed internally to a width of four feet, and one other similar window near the south-east angle, have lighted this apartment; there is no piscina or other feature which would lead us to suppose that it had been a chapel, except that the middle lancet at the east being shorter than those on either side, it may so have been for the placing of an altar. But although mindful that we are visiting the remains of a small monastery, and that consequently we cannot expect to find a church of grand dimensions, we are unwilling to accept this small place as the principal sanctuary; and happily we are relieved from the necessity of the conjecture, on learning the name by which the apartment is still known — its traditionary name—viz., "the Long Chamber." We may think it possibly may have served as chapter-house, or perhaps as a hall for the reception of guests; but we shall go elsewhere to seek the church.

In another portion of the ruins there are the remains of what is still known as the "Lady Chapel"; for this and other names we are thankful, tradition being very valuable to us in this groping after the past. The "Lady Chapel" (marked B on the plan) is detached from the body of the monastery, and is in close proximity to the "Nuns' Burial Ground," as is still called a portion of ground between the ancient moat and the strong wall surrounding the precincts. The west and north walls, and part of the east, remain, the south wall has been demolished, so that we can scarcely tell what was the area of the building, though it would appear to have been shorter in its length from west to east than in its width.

There remain indications of two doors, one which gave entrance from the garden, and one communicating with the cemetery; two lancet windows (now filled in), larger


Burnham Abbey.
Ruins AD. 1878.
Scale of Feet.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Cottages.
Modern Sheds.
Farm Yard
D.
H.
Supposed
Site
of
Church.
Barn
C.
G.
A.
E.
F.
B.
Designations.
Traditionary, or
Supposed.
A. "Long Chamber."
B. "Lady Chapel."
C. Cloister.
D. Domestic Buildings.
E. "Refectory."
F. "Dungeon."
G. Sacristy.
H. "Still Garden."
N.
Nuns'
Burial
Ground.
Road.
Moat.
Public
W.L.R.

than those of the "Long Chamber," gave light from the west; the east end has been altered, and where the altar would have been there are now remnants of a chimney, which, with the remains of two Tudor windows, show that the building underwent transformation probably at a period to be referred to presently; one of these windows placed above the other making it evident that an upper story was then added. In the north wall there is a square recess for an ambry or locker, scarcely in position for the service of an altar at the east; it is the only feature that would seem to indicate that the place had been a chapel, which character it is not probable that we should assign to it but for the name it bears. Receiving, however, the traditionary name we may think this to have been a chapel for the more private devotions of the Abbess and nuns, perhaps in relationship with the cemetery close at hand; and we may even imagine the last offices of the Church to have been here rendered over the bodies of the deceased sisters ere they were deposited in their last resting place.

A cloister probably extended along the west wall of the principal block now remaining (at C on plan), square holes in the wall at regular intervals appearing as though for the reception of roof-timbers; and from the Cloister opened three pointed-arched doorways, the principal and central one giving access to the "Long Chamber" (A), a second, now blocked up (and replaced by a modern square door), leading into the now most southerly apartment (G), and the other opening into what tradition tells us to have been the "Refectory" (E). This latter apartment measures 49 feet by 21, two large windows yet indicated in the ruined wall looked eastward, from a third in the north wall was seen the garden which yet bears its old name "The Still-garden" (H), and into the Cloister peered a very narrow lancet, but six inches wide on the exterior, splayed internally. Remains of a fireplace appear in the south-east angle of the Refectory, and near the north-east there is a small rectangular recess in the wall similar to that noticed in the Lady Chapel; a door (now walled up) gave communication with the domestic apartments (D), and another opened into a chamber (F), the purpose of which taxes our conjecture. It bears the ominous name of "The Dungeon." Whether

this name has descended from monastic times, or whether it has been given to the place later on account of its peculiar windowless appearance—for it has been but very dimly lighted by two exceedingly narrow lancet-headed slits (two small square openings being probably more recent) cannot now be determined. On learning the name, however, we may think it not impossible that it was a place of punishment and penance, the more so when told that a pair of iron fetters were found some years since in a passage beneath the building.

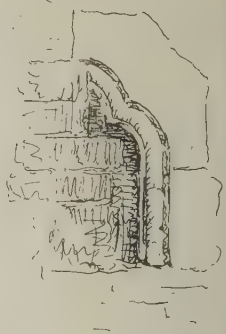
"The Dungeon" would, if believed in, certainly bear its charms of interest and mystery, but sceptically we may inquire whether this peculiar-looking building may have served no more sinister purpose than as larder or store of the Convent; the now broken-down passage underneath being perhaps nothing more than a water conduit, or sewer, and yet if so why carried under the building? We must leave the place in doubt as to its character.

Here it seems fitting to remark that Burnham Abbey, like most places of mediæval times, has its legendary subterranean passage, in this case connecting the Abbey with Windsor Castle. In 1852 (March 13th) the "Illustrated London News" mentioned the discovery of an underground passage at the Castle, conjectured to be the traditionary communication with the Abbey; but to inquiry made by the writer through the medium of "Notes and Queries" it was replied, that the passage had been found to lead out into the fields near the Castle, and that another passage, discovered in 1862, had on investigation been found to have its exit in the ancient ditch of the fortress. It might add to the importance of our Abbey to find it thus connected with its Royal neighbour, but setting aside the difficulties involved in a tunnel more than three miles long, there was the river Thames to undermine, and we can scarcely credit the thirteenth century with such a work.

To return to the ruins; the domiciliary portion of the Convent appears to have been the north wing (D), of which but one of the principal walls remains, the chief feature being an ample fireplace, probably of the kitchen. The fireplace seemingly is of Tudor times, and an alteration of the original one, of which remain on either side slender shafts with "Early English" capitals.

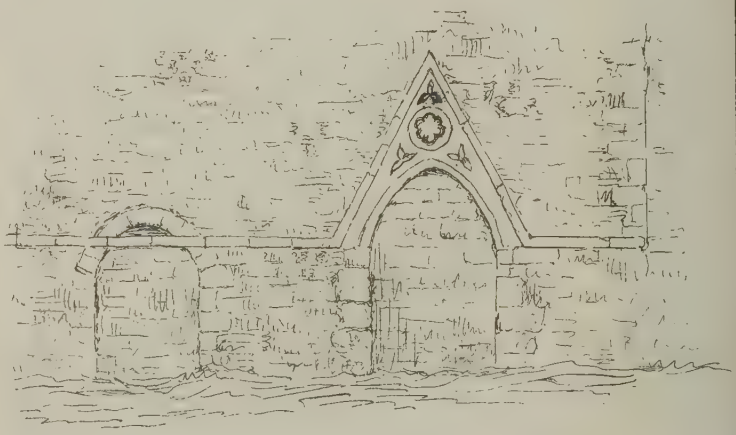
Windows in East Wall of Long Chamber

Interior



Stoup ? to the left of

arches in sketch below



Face of Wall (now within wooden barn) at S. end of buildings. 1878

B.

The only division of the buildings now remaining to be visited is the small apartment (G) at the southern extremity; it does not assist us in the special search we have borne in mind, and we are perhaps leaving the ground without obtaining relief to our uncertainty in regard to the church of the Abbey, or any satisfactory evidence of one having existed. But passing round to the green paddock which extends between the ancient buildings and the moat, in order to obtain the view on that side, our attention is arrested by vertical mouldings at some height on the extreme south-east angle (*a*), and we speculate as to what they can have belonged. They seem to indicate construction on a nobler scale than we have hitherto seen; and our first idea may tend towards the pier of a lofty arch of tower or chancel. On closer inspection, however, we see a series of small holes at regular intervals in the stonework, which suggest the insertion of the ironwork of a window-frame; the vertical mouldings, too, are discontinued at a considerable height from the ground, and the wall below them has no smooth face, but is broken off, showing clearly that it had continuation eastward.

Entering now the modern wooden barn which abuts against the ancient wall, and seeing again the vertical mouldings stopping short, and the masonry underneath (the broken section of which we saw outside) running out beyond them, our impression as to a window becomes conviction; the lower masonry was evidently that which supported the window-sill, and it can scarcely be concluded otherwise, than that here was a window of considerable dimensions looking *northward*.

Our attention is next drawn to a pointed arch traced on the face of the wall (at *b* on plan); it is enclosed within a moulding which forms a pediment or canopy over it, the triangular space being filled in with handsome tracery of the "Decorated" period. The arch and ornamental work is represented by the accompanying sketch, made by Mr. Burgess, who visited the Abbey with the writer; the moulding and tracery have, alas! been ruthlessly hammered off, the stone of which they were carved being now flush with the face of the wall, and in its mutilated condition the object of the work is somewhat difficult of surmise. We may at first think it to

have been a doorway, which served for communication with the chamber (G) on the other side of the wall; but for a doorway the work is not carried sufficiently low, and although there might have been a few steps for ascent, there appears no object for that arrangement. Also the superficial character of the masonry forming the arch, which is composed of long thin stones without key-stone at its apex, is not what we expect in a doorway or in an arch built to sustain weight; neither is our first impression confirmed by an examination of the other side of the wall, where, although there is a recess, it is of much less width than the arch, and being regularly formed had probably its own object. Dismissing the idea of doorway there is but one other purpose which, with sufficient probability, recommends itself to us, namely that of sedile, the arch with its superimposed carved work forming the canopy. This sedile, admitting it so to be, was, as we should suppose from its style, of later construction than the wall, and was but slightly bonded into it.

There is one other interesting relict in the wall before us—a small trefoil-headed niche, sadly mutilated, indeed half-demolished; it is found at the western end of the wall, and from its appearance was probably for a holy-water stoupe (see sketch).

We have now three architectural features tending to prove that the face of the wall on which they are found is an *interior*, not an exterior face. *First*, the vestiges of a window of considerable dimensions, the aspect of which, as is evident from the situation of the adjacent buildings, could only have been from the position now occupied by the wooden barn; *secondly*, the traces of a canopy which we think overshadowed a sedile; and, *thirdly*, the stoupe, which could not have been on the outside of a wall at the end of the conventual buildings, round the corner as it were. Convinced by these three witnesses that it is an interior wall face we have examined, we must also receive the conviction, that here on the ground which the barn now covers there once stood a portion of the Abbey, which has been completely removed, only the few vestiges of it which have occupied our attention remaining to prove its former existence; and further, judging from these vestiges the greater dignity of the work than that seen elsewhere, we may surely, without presumption, conclude

that the edifice which stood here was that which we have been seeking—viz., the Church of the Monastery. It is not impossible that its extent and form might be ascertained were foundations sought for; indeed, it is tantalizing to think what a few picks and shovels, wielded by sinewy and dexterous arms, might reveal to us. Masonry foundations have been discovered in the farmyard in line with the old wall, at six yards from its preseut termination, where, for appearance sake, it has, subsequently to the destruction of the building, been squared up as a buttress, this being evident from the character of the masonry, and from the mutilated condition of the niche. If the niche, however, inclosed a holy-water stoupe, the inference would follow that the western entrance of the church was near to it.

That the church was of later construction than the building to which it adjoined, or that at least an alteration was at some time made, appears in the fact that a circular-headed doorway has been built up, and a band of stone, or string-course, carried across it (see sketch); this string-course (which we may suppose to have been moulded, though now found hammered flat) being carried over the sedile to form its canopy. Whether the doorway was an exit from the building before the church was attached, or whether it was an original entrance to the church afterwards disused, and built up, perhaps, when the sedile was added, it is scarcely possible now to determine. The writer is inclined to class the sedile as "Decorated" work, which dates forty or fifty years later than the Abbey's foundation; possibly it may have been constructed in 1338, when Sir John de Molins became patron and benefactor to the House. If as sedile it was for the use of the officiating priest, we should necessarily conclude that the altar was near, and that the church did not extend so far eastward as might be inferred from the vestiges of the window close at hand, these vestiges indicating that the window had a northern, not eastern, aspect. If, however, the sedile were not for altar use, the suggestion arises whether it may not have been for the use of the Abbess, or any dignitary that might visit the Monastery.

To determine the extent of the church further investigation is necessary; for the present we must rest content

with the evidences of its existence and the ascertainment of its site.

The chamber (G) to which as yet no office has been assigned, may have been the sacristy or priest's lodging, though this is surmised simply from its proximity to the church.

Having found sufficient ocular evidence of the former existence of a church beyond the ruined walls yet standing, let us now see what written evidence we have, and carefully scan the brief description of the Abbey remains left us by Browne Willis, who saw them one hundred and sixty years ago: "The Mansion-House of the Convent seems to be entirely standing; 'tis built in shape of an L, and made use of to hold husbandry implements—viz., corn, hay, etc.—the tenant dwelling in a little house near it, where probably the chief hind anciently lived. I could learn no account of the church—viz., when it was pulled down." * The L is at once seen following the letters D, E, A, G on the plan. We have been over the two wings, and have learned or conjectured the designations of the several divisions; we note also that Willis calls the L "the mansion-house of the Convent," meaning, we may suppose, the dwelling portion, not including the church or chapel.

Moreover from his words, he seems to have had no doubt that a church had existed, although he could not discover when its demolishment took place; and we may reasonably think that one hundred and sixty years ago he saw more remains of the edifice than we do to-day. The barn was not erected on the site until many years later, and is it not very probable that at the time of its construction many traces of the church were obliterated? Mr. Cole also gives it as his opinion that the "cloysters and chapel were no doubt pulled down." †

One other fact tending to prove the church's existence is found in Dugdale's Baronage; Sir John de Molins, whose connection with the Abbey as patron has been referred to, made provision for three chaplains at different places, one of them at Burnham, "to celebrate divine service at the same Abbey at the altar of St.

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* B. Willis's Hist. of Abbeys, vol. ii., p. 16.
† Cole MSS., vol. xxxii., p. 38 *b*.

Catherine . . . for the good estate of himself and Egidia, his wife, during this mortal life," etc.* The mention of an altar, other than the high altar and that of the Blessed Virgin, to whom the Abbey was dedicated, leads us to the inference that there was a church of some size.†

In going through both wings of the L we find evidences of an upper story, and over what we have supposed may have been the sacristy (now a stable) there is still an interesting chamber. It is probable that in the time of the nuns the upper story existed over part of the building at least, though what we observe is generally, if not always, of Tudor character. Mr. Cole says that Paul Wentworth, Gentleman, who came to reside here about 1574, that is thirty-five years after the dissolution, "turned the Nuns' Hall, which was open to the tyles, into a smaller room, and made chambers over it."‡ We should like to know for certain in which wing was what is here called the Nuns' Hall, though we may be inclined to think it was in the north wing (D). Wentworth was not the first possessor of the Abbey after its fall. The site was first given to William Tyldesley, and he was succeeded by Wentworth, who from the inscription on his monument in Burnham Church, appears to have married the widow of Tyldesley. The last-named is also buried in the same church, as is testified by a small brass scroll on the pavement of the chancel, Wentworth's mural monument being close by. The Abbey and lands were in the reign of Charles I. in the hands of Sir Henry Fane, and afterwards in the families of Darrel and Lovelace. Lord Lovelace sold his interest in the property to the Villiers family, who renewed the lease with the Crown in 1691; in 1813, when Lysons's work, from which these facts are taken, was published, the lease was vested in the Earl of Jersey,§

* Baronage of England, vol. ii., p. 147. For Wm. de Molins should here be read John de Molins, as is clear from the context.

† Here should be mentioned some remains of masonry to be found in the orchard. Distant as they are from any other portion of the ruins, it is difficult to account for them; they are, however, called by the people living around "the Tower," and as in the inventory, made at the time of the surrender, bells are mentioned, the question presents itself, whether the belfry may not have been here, detached from the other buildings as was not unfrequently the position of these structures?

‡ Cole MSS., vol. xxxii., p. 38 *b*.

§ Lysons's Mag. Brit., Bucks., p. 531.

and in the later "Monasticon Anglicanum," we learn that the reversion was purchased, about 1812, by Lord Grenville. Eventually, on the expiration of the lease about 1840, the property was sold by the Crown to Mr. Pocock, who built the modern residence, and by his will it was left to his niece, Mrs. Wright, in trust for her children; the present tenant being Mr. Joseph Trumper, to whom, for his kindness in allowing the investigation of his premises and for the traditionary names of the buildings, the writer desires to record his obligations.

It may be interesting to mention here the views that are to be found of the Abbey. The oldest is a coarse engraving in the series of views of Castles and Abbeys by the brothers S. and N. Buck. This view of "Burnham Priory" (as it is called), taken in 1730, is from the west, and shows the building forming the L described by Willis; the north wing, of which so little now remains, is still roofed, and probably presents the appearance it derived from Paul Wentworth in 1574; the other wing terminates as it does to-day, but the barn is not built against it, the niche and sedile being indistinctly traced on the gable wall. Much accuracy does not appear to be the characteristic of this picture, which, nevertheless, as the oldest we have is valuable. Eton College and Windsor Castle embellish the distance, to signify, perhaps, that the Royal edifices are not far off; they could not, however, have been visible as represented, although from a different position the Castle may be seen.

In Grose's Antiquities there are two pictures of the northern portion drawn in 1786, fifty-six years later than Buck's view; the building is quite roofless and ruined, though more of the walls are standing than to-day; remaining are two tall chimneys, one surmounted by a weather vane. Another view is that before referred to in the 1830 Monasticon Anglicanum, unfortunately it bears no date, but may be judged later than Grose's; it is taken from the same point as Buck's, showing again both wings of the L, and the gable end still without the barn attached to it; the engraving is very nicely executed.

Representing the ruins as we see them to-day, it will doubtless afford much satisfaction to the Society, to bind with this paper, if thought worthy of a place in its RECORDS, two sketches taken by Mr. Burgess, his copy

of the view in the Monasticon Anglicanum, and his sketches of details before referred to.

It remains but to refer, and that very briefly, to those who in old times, now more than three centuries past, lived and worshipped within these walls, and whose dust is now mingled with the earth around. Very slight is the record we have of them, nor of the secluded inmates of a small monastery as was this of Burnham, could we expect a more ample record than has come down to us.

At the time of the dissolution of the House its community consisted of an Abbess and nine nuns of the Augustine order, their dependants numbering thirty-seven, of whom were two priests, twenty-one hinds, and fourteen women. During the long period of two hundred and seventy-four years that the House existed, there were from time to time transactions in relation to its property, records of which yet survive; but beyond this and the names of the Abbesses who ruled the religious household we have no further information. Margery de Eston was the first Abbess, and succeeding her were Maud de Dorkcester, Joan de Bedeware, Idonea de Audeley, Joan de Somerville, Joan de Louthe, Joan de Dorney, Margery de Louthe; the Norman prefix is then discontinued, and the names consequently have a more homely aspect, they are Joan Turner, Agnes Franklyn, Elizabeth Ward, Alice Golafre, Agnes Gower, Agnes Sturdy, Joan Radcliffe, Margaret Gibson, and the last Abbess, Alice Baldwin.

Of the repute which the House bore, and of its pious and charitable deeds, there is no evidence, except, indeed, that the King's Commissioners in their report testify curtly and coarsely to the unsullied lives of the sisters. We, learning no ill of them, may surely follow the Christian dictate, and believe that they lived rightly according to their light. Whatever may in this age be thought of Monasticism, and however nobler it may seem to us that the battle of life should be fought rather than fled from to the cloister, it must yet be conceded that in ruder times, now happily long passed away, there was need of these refuges throughout the land, and that as institutions they were necessary before the advent of others which, in the development of civilization, have taken the place of the Religious Houses. So here we would think "of the dead nought but what is good." We would

think of the peaceful lives and earnest worship of those who dwelt here, as nourishing not only the purity, self-denial, and piety of themselves, but as shedding a salutary and benign influence among those who served them within their House, and on others beyond it. We would think that the little community was prudently and kindly governed, that the Abbesses were motherly and patient in their rule over their sisters; that they were just and considerate to their tenants and dependants; that the young were taught and disciplined, the old cared for and comforted, the sick tended and their ailments relieved by the herbal medicines of the "still garden," and that the burthens of the poor were lightened by the charity of the Abbey. Thus thinking of the good sisters of Burnham, we will, on quitting the ruins of their former home, say "requiescant," and believe that, their work done, they have passed away to a world of clearer light.

Burnham Abbey was dissolved in 1539; the blow had impended over the House during three years, for its suppression had been insured by the Act of 1536. Margaret Gibson, the last but one of the Abbesses, had subscribed to the King's supremacy in 1534; resistance to the will of the royal despot under whose eye the convent lay would have been useless, and a letter of the Commissioners accompanying the surrender of their property recommends the nuns to the King's favour on account of their readiness to yield to the King's measures; they prayed only to be allowed to enter other Religious Houses which were yet spared. In September, 1539, Alice Baldwin, the last Abbess, and her nine sisters were compelled to leave their home; they were apportioned small pensions in the name of compensation, and from an account of 1553, in which is noted the payment of four of these pensions, we learn that so many of the sisters had survived fourteen years after their expulsion from the Abbey.

Extract from "History of the Abbeys," by Browne Willis, vol. ii., pp. 15, 16:—

"The instrument of surrender is dated Sept., 1539, and signed by the Abbess and nine nuns, the four last of which were surviving an. 1553, and enjoyed their pensions, which were appropriated as follows: Alyce Bald-

win, Abbess, £13 6s. 8d.; Anne Benfield, £4; Alyce Cells, £2 6s. 8d.; Margaret Browne, £3; Elizabeth Woodforth, £2; Elizabeth Loo, £2; Anne Norys, Margaret Mosse, Bridget Woodward, Luce Pachett, £2 each. In the Augmentation Office is the original surrender, too long to be inserted here, and a letter from the visitors recommending the Religious to the King's favour, on account of their readiness to yield to the King's measures; and the following survey of this House, taken among the returns of the lesser Houses: The Monastery of the Order of St. Austin, value £51 2s. 4d. Nuns, 9; incontinent, none; all desire to go unto Religious Houses. Servants, 37: whereof priests 2; hinds, 21; women, 14. Bells and lead worth £40 16s. 8d. The House in good estate. The value of the moveable goods, £45 17s. 9d. Stocks and debts, none. Woods, 160 acres: whereof in woods under twenty years age, 80 acres; old woods, 80 acres."

In the Register at Lincoln, under the year 1265, the first entry relating to Burnham is that of the election, confirmation, and admission of Sister Margery de Eston, formerly Sub-prioress of Garinges, as Abbess of the House of the Blessed Mary of Burnham—"*Serenissimo principe domino Ricardo dei grat a Romanorum rege semper Augusto fundatore ejusdem domus in ipsam electam in quantum ad ipsum pertinuit consentiente,*" with her oath of obedience to the Bishop, and closing with the letter of the King of the Romans to the Bishop: "*Tenor literæ prædicti regis Alemanorum domino episcopo in hoc negotio directæ. Ricardus dei gratia Romanorum rex semper Augustus venerabili in Xº patri.*" Stating that the notice of the election had been officially presented to him as patron, and requesting the Bishop's confirmation, the King's letter being written at Wallingford, June 18, *regni nostri anno decimo.*

The second entry is a return of the value of the church of Burnham—"*cujus jus patronatus dominus rex Aleman fundator domus suæ caritatis in testimonium eis contulerat,*" containing many interesting local names as Boveney, Huntercombe, etc., but nothing more relating to the founder.

Burnhamense Cœnobium, in agro Buckinghamensi.

Carta Fundationis.

Rex archiepiscopis, etc. Salutem. Richardus Dei gratia Romanorum rex, semper Augustus, omnibus Christi fidelibus, tam præsentibus quam futuris, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra nos, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, dedisse, concessisse, et hac præsenti carta nostra confirmasse Deo, et beatæ Mariæ et monasterio de Burnham, quod fundari fecimus, ac monialibus ibidem Deo servientibus, et earum successoribus, in liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosinam, intuitu Dei, et pro salute animæ nostræ, et animarum prædecessorum nostrorum regum Angliæ, manerium de Burnham, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, ut in dominicis, homagiis liberorum villenagiis, visu franci plegii, redditibus, escaetis, wardis, releviis, maritagiis, et omnibus aliis quæ ad nos, vel hæredes nostros, ratione dicti manerii de Burnham, quocunque modo, vel casu accidere possint, una cum advocatione eclesiæ de Burnham, quæ fuit de patronatu nostro, ratione manerii nostri antedicti de Burnham, tempore istius donationis nostræ. Concessimus etiam pro nobis, et hæredibus nostris, eisdem monialibus, et successoribus suis, totano terrano cum per-

Burnham Monastery in Buckinghamshire.

Foundation Charter.

The King to the Archbishops, etc., greeting. Richard, by the grace of God, King of the Romans, ever Augustus, to all the faithful of Christ, present or future, to whom the present writing shall come, eternal health in the Lord. Know all of ye, that we, for ourselves and our heirs, have given, granted, and by this our present charter have confirmed to God, and to the blessed Mary, and to the monastery of Burnham, which we have caused to be founded, and tō the nuns there serving God, and to their successors, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, in the sight of God, and for the health of our soul, and of the souls of our predecessors Kings of England, the manor of Burnham, with all its appurtenances, as in domains, homages of free men, villenages, view of franc pledge, rents, escheats, wards, aids, marital rights, and all else which to us, or our heirs, by reason of the said manor of Burnham, by any manner, or chance may fall, together with the advowson of the church of Burnham, which was in our patronage, by reason of our aforesaid manor of Burnham, at the time of this our grant. We have granted also for ourselves, and our heirs, to the same nuns, and to their suc-

tinentiis, quæ fuit Johannis de Boveneye, cum molendino, piscaria, et visu franci plegii, qui pertinere solebat ad manerium nostrum de Cippeham, et quicquid nobis, vel hæredibus nostris, ratione prædictæ terræ, quocunque modo, val casu accidere potuisset; salva nobis et hæredibus nostris, tota terra cum pertinentiis, quæ fuit ejus Johannis in Stoukes, quam nobis et hæredibus nostris retinuimus cum suis pertinentiis. Concessimus etiam pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, dictis monialibus, et earum successoribus, totam terram de Morforlong, et Brockforlong, cum toto prato de Dillepol, quæ fuerunt de manerio nostro de Cippeham, tempore istius donationis nostræ, et totum boscum quem emimus de Johanne de Everengee, qui vocatur la Strete, et unam partem bosci nostri de Hertlegh, sicut fossata proportant, de bosco de la Strete, usque ad boscum Johannis de la Penne.

Volumus etiam, et concedimus, prò nobis et hæredibus nostris, quod omnia prædicta dictis monialibus, et earum successoribus à nobis concessa, adeo liberè, quietè, pacificè, et integrè habeant et teneant in pratis, pascuis, planis, boscis, pasturis, viis, aquis, et semitis, infra villam et extra, sicuti ea nos liberiùs, et quietius unquam tenuimus, vel tenere potuimus, sine aliquo retenecessors, all the land with appurtenances, which belonged to John of Boveneye, with the milling, fishing, and view of franc pledge, which was wont to belong to our manor of Cippeham, and whatever to us, or to our heirs, by reason of the aforesaid land, by any manner or chance might have fallen, saving to us and our heirs, all the land and appurtenances which belonged to that John in Stoukes, which to us and to our heirs we have retained with their appurtenances. We have granted also for us and for our heirs, to the said nuns, and to their successors, al the land of Morforlong, and Brockforlong, with all the meadow land of Dillepol, which belonged to our manor of Cippeham, at the time of this our grant, and all the wood which we bought of John of Everengee, which is called la Strete, and a portion of our wood of Hertlegh, as divided by ditch, from the wood of la Strete, even to the wood of John de la Penne.

We will also, and grant, for us and for our heirs, all that the aforesaid to the said nuns and their successors by us granted, so that they may freely, quietly, peacefully, and entirely have and hold in meadows, pastures, plains, woods, forage, ways watercourses, and footpaths, within and without the township, like as we have ever very freely and quietly held them, or have had the power to hold

mento, nobis vel hæredibus nostris, habenda et tenenda omnia prædicta, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis dictis monialibus, et earum successoribus, de nobis et hæredibus nostris, cum omnibus libertatibus, et liberis consuetudinibus ad prædicta terras, redditus, et tenementa spectantibus, unà cum advocatione ecclesiæ supradictæ, ut prædictum est, in liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum possidenda. Et nos et hæredes nostri istam nostram donationem dictis monialibus et earum successoribus, contra omnes homines Judæos et Christianos warantizare, defendere, et acquietare tenemur, videlicet, de omnimodis curiarum sectis, regali servicio, et aliis secularibus demandis omnibus, et singulis, quæ ab eisdem monialibus, ratione prædictæ donationis nostræ, exigi poterant aliqua occasione, exceptâ wardâ castri de Wyndelsore, debita, et consueta. In cujus rei testimonium præsentem cartam nostram sigillo regiæ majestatis nostræ duximus reborandum. Hiis testibus: Henrico illustri rege Angliæ, fratre nostro, domino Edwardo ejusdem regis primogenito; nepote nostro, dominis W. Bathon, cancellaria Angliæ; R. Lincoln, et R. Coventren, et Lichfelden, episcopis; Henrico, et Edmundo filiis nostris, Philippo Basset, Willielmo de Huntercumbe, Willielmo

them, without any reserve to us or to our heirs, all the aforesaid to be had and held, with all their appurtenances, by the said nuns, and their successors, from us and our heirs, with all the liberties, and free customs to the said lands, rents, and tenements belonging, together with the advowson of the above mentioned church, as aforesaid, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, to be possessed in perpetuity. And we and our heirs are held to warrant, defend, and acquit this our gift to the said nuns and to their successors, against all men, Jews, and Christians; that is to say from all classes of courts, from royal service, and from other secular demands all and singular, which on any occasion might have been required from the same nuns by reason of our aforesaid gift, due and customary ward of the Castle of Wyndelsore being excepted. In testimony of which we have given force to our present charter with the seal of our Royal Majesty. Witnesses: Henry, the illustrious King of England; our brother, the lord Edward; the first born of the same king, our nephew; the lords W. Bathon, Chancellor of England; R. Lincoln, and R. Coventry, and Lichfield, bishops; Henry and Edmund, our sons; Philip Basset, William de Huntercumbe, William de Wyndlesore, Richard de Oxeye, Philip de Covele, and others. Given

de Wyndlesore, Richardo de Oxeye, Philippo de Covele, et aliis. Dat apud Cippeham decimo octavo die Aprilis, indictione nona, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo sexto, regni verò nostri anno nono.

at Cippeham, the eighteenth day of April, ninth indiction, in the year of the Lord, one thousand two hundred sixty-six, in the ninth year of our reign.

NOTES ON PONTIFICAL BULLÆ, WITH REFERENCE TO THAT RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN CHETWODE CHURCHYARD.

BY MR. E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A.
Honorary Secretary, The British Archæological Association.

The discovery of a Bulla, the leaden seal, so to speak, attesting the validity of one of those once formidable mandates, the Bulls of the Popes of Rome, must always afford considerable interest and speculation. These seals, for so they are to all intents and purposes, are not unfrequently met with in England, at least prior to the time of the passing of the famous law De Præmunire, since when the Papal power has "neither tythed nor tolled" in England without permission. They differ from ordinary pendant seals only in their material, but we have abundant evidence of the use of attesting leaden pendants by others besides the Roman Pontiffs.

When we consider the numberless occasions in which the freedom of the Church of England was curbed by an alien power, necessitating a constant issue of Papal "Bulls" (so called, as is so well known, from their attached "bulla"), it is not surprising that so many have been met with. Their weight, great in proportion to the slender silken cords of the older documents, parchment ligatures being a sign of later date, readily caused separation to result, and they became detached from the documents.

All that have come under my inspection have been of lead, roughly circular, fully one-and-a-half inches in diameter, and of uniform type. The obverse bears the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul confronting each other with a small Latin cross on a stem between them, the

whole of very rude execution and bearing little trace of Italian art. The reverse contains the name of the reigning pontiff, by whom the bull was issued. All these usual indications appear on the example from Chetwode figured on the accompanying plate. The faces of Peter and Paul are of rather worse execution than on other examples. St. Paul occupies the dexter, and St. Peter the sinister side, while above, to render the matter very clear, is the inscription SPA SPE.

The reverse has the inscription in letters of the fourteenth century as indicated on the plate, showing that it was issued by Pope Innocent VI., Pope at Avignon. He was pontiff 1352 until 1362, in which year he died. The abbreviation P.P., before the Latin numerals VI., is for "Papa," which appears in full on many specimens.

It has been said that these Bullæ were formed by striking two plates of lead which were thus firmly welded together, the ligatures to attach it to the deed, which it was required to verify being first placed between. The impressions on all the examples which have come under my notice are certainly "struck," and not cast. Should this be correct, it is but right to say, that they exhibit, like the example under notice, no evidence of their double thickness.

There is an engraving in the second volume of the Journal of the British Archæological Association, p. 97, which shows the instrument for striking "bullæ." It has the name of Pius II. The instrument is in form of a pair of shears, seven inches long, with the obverse and reverse at the extremities. It is equally adapted for striking in one thickness or in two.

The number of Papal Bulls being so great, there is more than a suspicion that many of these were forgeries of contemporary date. Indeed, it is supposed, but on what ground it is not apparent, that the instrument referred to was for fabricating seals for equally forged deeds.

A similar Bulla of Pope Innocent VI. was discovered in 1867 beneath the foundations of the demolished church of St. Benet's, Gracechurch Street; and another, supposed to have been found in the Thames, was exhibited to the Association in 1859.

Bullæ were extensively used by the ancient Romans, who derived them probably from the Etruscans, but the

Bulla of Pope Innocent VI.

FOUND ON THE SITE OF CHETWODE PRIORY.

J. Akerman Lith London

THE REGICIDES OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BY ROBERT GIBBS, AYLESBURY.

No district in the kingdom could have suffered more from the calamities and hardships consequent upon the civil wars of the seventeenth century than that in which Buckinghamshire is situated. With stations of the King's army at Buckingham, Winslow, Bicester, Thame, Brackley, Brill, Haddenham, and adjacent places, and the Parliamentary forces quartered at Aylesbury, Hartwell, Wing, Bierton, Waddesdon, Leighton, Wendover, Missenden, Amersham, and Chesham, this usually peaceful county of ours must have been a scene of continued anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed. Discontent and dissatisfaction were observable as early as the year 1635, and it was evident that a rupture between the King and the Parliament would result. Preparations for the struggle were advancing on both sides, but the actual commencement of the conflict must be dated from August, 1642, when the Royal standard was hoisted at Nottingham. The sword was then drawn, and in almost every shire hostile factions were warring against each other, and the kingdom was distracted from one end to the other. We cannot, after so long a period has elapsed, bring our minds to contemplate the sufferings of the great body of the people during the period of fourteen years of internecine warfare. So far as actual pecuniary losses were sustained, the farmers in most cases were the greatest sufferers. Ever liable to the raids of the military in their marauding expeditions, they were unceremoniously deprived of their horses, cattle, and farm produce for the pressing exigences of the troops. Roundheads and Cavaliers in turn pillaged them, generally in a very tyrannical and arbitrary manner, and without compensation; in other cases under specious promises of payment, never to be fulfilled. The rights of property were not in the least respected, and the sanctity of the homes and hearths of an innocent population was ruthlessly invaded by a rude, licentious, and mischievous soldiery.*

* Mr. Payne, of Walton Grove, Aylesbury, preserves an ancient family manuscript, which gives an account of the losses sustained during the civil wars, by Ralph Rolls, a farmer, who at that period resided at Garsington, in Oxfordshire. This Mr. Rolls was an ancestor of the family of the same

Seven years elapsed between the raising of the Royal standard and the King's execution. During that period power had drifted and found its way into irresponsible hands. At the outbreak of the war the King had to contend with opponents, at its close, with enemies. The former struggled for the liberties of their country; the latter thirsted for the blood of their Sovereign, and their thirst was satiated. The King is said to have grieved over the fall of John Hampden in the early part of the struggle; he may have had great reason to do so. Who knows but that the knell which heralded forth the news of the death of Hampden did not prematurely tell of the downfall of the King? Had Hampden survived we should not have found him a member of the "High Court of Justice"; he would not have lurked about the Painted Chamber, or been seen in Westminster Hall during the King's trial; nor would his name have been attached to the warrant for the destruction of the King. Hampden would have taken no part or lot in these proceedings, the records of which form the blackest pages of our nation's history; had he maintained that authority at one time accorded him, his voice would have been raised in favour of saving the King from so ignominious a death, and the nation from the odium consequent thereon; he would have maintained the resolve made when he first entered into the struggle for national liberty :—

"Against my King I never fight,
But for my King and country's right."

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name who were subsequently, and for some three or four generations, settled at Bicester, also of the Rolls', Payne's, and one branch of the Gibbs' families of Aylesbury. The narrative describes how that poor farmer Rolls was deprived by the Cavaliers of all his horses save one; this last he hid in the barton. Some troopers coming into the yard, the hidden horse, by way of recognition, gave a friendly neigh, thus innocently betraying both himself and his master, and Ralph lost his last horse. The account goes on to state how that the soldiery wilfully destroyed the seed corn, so that next year Farmer Rolls' land was left in fallow and waste. So avaricious were the soldiers that it was requisite to secrete the daily food of the family from their clutches: the bacon was suspended by a rope and hidden in the well, the top of the well being turfed over. The children, in turns, watched whilst the family took their meals, lest by an unexpected visit they might run the risk of being deprived of their food.

* * * *

Ralph's situation rendered him a prey
To each marauding force that came that way;
They seized his cattle, poultry, hogs, and sheep,
Without concealment, nothing could he keep.

The Restoration brought with it a sad day of retribution to those who had been concerned in the trial and execution of the King. Doubtless Charles, long before he regained his throne, meditated revenge on the murderers of his father, and had resolved on the destruction of the surviving regicides. Twelve years passed between the King's death and the Restoration. In the meantime many of those who had taken part in the trial and execution had died, and others had left the country for safety.

No sooner was Charles firmly seated on the throne, than preparations were made for the trials of the regicides. Those who were dead even did not escape his vengeance, and as regarded them he allowed his feelings to overcome his judgment by ordering the mouldering remains of some to be dragged from their graves and publicly exposed on the gallows. The names of the deceased regicides were included in the Act of Attainder, in consequence of which their estates were forfeited and their families rendered destitute and helpless. Those who survived foresaw the fate which awaited them, and they made good their escape to distant parts. Even if they succeeded in so doing, it was but to lead a life of misery, uncertainty, and degradation, in constant dread of being surprised and taken into custody by the King's emissaries, as the most diligent search was instituted to bring them to trial and punishment, no matter to what part of the world they had absconded.

Regicidal feelings must have held great sway in Buckinghamshire. Amongst those who took part in the King's trial, or were otherwise concerned in his death, the names of more than thirty will be found who were either directly or indirectly connected with Bucks or Buckinghamshire families, and it is doubtful even if in that large number the list has been exhausted. With such an array of "delinquents," the notice of each individual must necessarily be brief.

Sir John D'Anvers.—He was father to the wife of Robert, Viscount Purbeck, eldest son and heir to John Villiers, brother of the great Duke of Buckingham and Baron of Stoke Poges. Sir John D'Anvers was also further connected with Buckinghamshire by his mother being a member of the Latimer family, and she, after the

death of her first husband, remarried Sir Edmund Carey, third son of Henry, Lord Hunsdon. Sir John represented Oxford in the two last Parliaments of Charles I., and was an avowed enemy to that monarch. At the outbreak of the war he accepted a commission as colonel in the army, but never distinguished himself in the field. He regularly attended the King's trial, and his name is attached to the warrant for beheading the King. He died during the Commonwealth, neglected and in contempt. At the Restoration his name was inserted in the Act, excepting him from pardon as if living, by which all his property was lost to his heir.

Oliver Cromwell.—The connections of this remarkable man with Buckinghamshire are well known. He was closely allied both with the Russells of Chequers and the Hampdens of Great Hampden. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Sir Francis Russell, the third Baronet, married Henry, the fourth son of the Protector; whilst Sir John Russell, the fourth Baronet, and son of Sir Francis, married Frances, the youngest daughter of Cromwell. Cromwell was also a cousin to John Hampden, the patriot, by the marriage of Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, with William Hampden, Esq., of Great Hampden. More details of Oliver Cromwell and his Buckinghamshire connections are not needed in this paper.

That Cromwell took a very active part in the destruction of the King is not denied; his name stands first in the list of Commissioners present on the first day of the trial, and his signature holds a prominent place in the King's death-warrant, it being placed next but one to that of John Bradshaw, the president. It is even said that Cromwell made a jest of the solemn proceeding, and when he added his name to the death-warrant playfully besmeared with his pen the face of Harry Martin, who was standing near him.

Cromwell died peaceably in his bed two years before the Restoration. He was elected Protector, December 12th, 1653, and inaugurated again with more state on June 20th, 1657; he died on the 3rd September, 1658, worn out by excessive fatigue of mind and body, and was buried with more than regal pomp in Westminster Abbey. Charles II., looking upon him as an instigator

in the murder of his father, wreaked his vengeance upon the putrid carcase. Cromwell's body was dragged from its grave, and with others exposed on the gallows at Tyburn from sunrise to sunset, and then buried at the foot of the gallows, his head set on a pole, and exhibited on the top of Westminster Hall—a proceeding causing a greater punishment to the living than the dead, and more degrading to the author of it than to the victims. This gross outrage on public decency gave great and general offence.

Thomas Challoner.—The Challoners were a Yorkshire family. Sir Thomas Challoner, Knt., was tutor to Henry, Prince of Wales, and he was a learned author. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, by whom he had several children. Sir Thomas had granted to him in fee the manor of Steeple Claydon. Thomas Challoner, the regicide, was his son; he was born at Steeple Claydon. He took part in the trial and signed the death-warrant of the King, was attainted, and the Claydon estate forfeited. He died at Middleburgh in 1661, it is said of poison. Challoner, who joined in Waller's plot, and who was executed for his complicity in it, was also of this family.

Challoner had a dispute with King Charles I. respecting some alum works in Yorkshire which he had discovered, and to which the King granted him the sole patent; but his Majesty afterwards giving a moiety to some one else, Challoner interested himself on the side of the Parliament, and in revenge became one of the King's judges. He was no Puritan, but was full of his jokes and tricks; was a good scholar, wrote nothing but an anonymous and witty pamphlet on the discovery of Moses' tomb, which set all the rabbis of the assembly to work, and it was a long time before the sham was detected. There is some doubt as to the cause of his death, which is confused with that of his brother. It was James who died in the Isle of Man, and it may be assumed that it was James, and not Thomas, who died by poison.

James Challoner.—He was brother to Thomas, and he embarked in the same unfortunate affair. He sat as one of the King's judges in the Painted Chamber on five

occasions, but he did not sign the death-warrant. At one time of his life he was governor of the Isle of Man, under General Fairfax, was of a literary turn, and employed his leisure time whilst there in procuring materials for the history of that little kingdom. On his return to England he mixed in all the busy scenes preceding the Restoration, and having declared for the interests of the Parliament in opposition to that of the army, he was imprisoned by General Fleetwood. In the matter of his implication in the King's trial, his life was spared, but his estates were confiscated, leaving him a prey to poverty and wretchedness, under which calamity he sunk. "At the time of the Restoration he was keeping the castle of the Isle of Man, where he had a prettie wench that was his concubine. When the news was brought to him that some one was come to the castle to demaund it for his majestie, he spake to his girle to make him a posset, into which he putte, out of a paper he had, some poyson, which, in a very short time, made him very sick. Within three hours he died." This is from "Aubrey's Lives," and the account is given as referring to Thomas Challoner, with a note that "'twas James Challoner that dyed in the Isle of Man."

John Desborough.—He married Anna, Oliver Cromwell's sister. Obtaining a commission in the Parliamentary army, under the patronage of his brother-in-law, he rose to be a colonel. He was named one of the commissioners of the High Court of Justice, but he wholly declined to sit as one of the King's judges. He was not mentioned in the Clause of Pains and Penalties extending to life, yet he was considered so dangerous a character that it was with difficulty his life and liberty could be preserved, and during the remainder of a long existence he was always watched with peculiar jealousy by the Government. He is thought to have resided the last few years of his life in Essex, as he died in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford; this is probable, as he was the owner of the manor of Trimnells, near that town.

Thomas Lord Fairfax.—He was father-in-law to the witty and profligate Duke of Buckingham, by the marriage of his only child to that nobleman; he was also related to the Sheffields, Dukes of Buckingham. His successful military exploits during the civil war on the

part of the Parliament are matters of history, and he was advanced to the rank of general. Noble describes him as "a regicide, for such undoubtedly, in every sense, he must be pronounced, though he did not give sentence nor sign the warrant for the King's execution." He had no affection for the Protector Cromwell, indeed they were on bad terms for years, and for Richard Cromwell he had great contempt. There is no doubt but that he favoured the Restoration, and it is not easy to reconcile his conduct at the death of King Charles, for it is suspected that he not only assisted in bringing the King to trial and judgment, but that he also knew the warrant was signed and the hour appointed to put his majesty to death. He was a patron of the fine arts, and one who also understood them. He died in November, 1671, aged sixty years. The vast properties the family had acquired in America were lost by that revolution which cut off the united provinces from the mother country in the last century.

Colonel George Fleetwood.—The Fleetwoods were originally a Lancashire family. Thomas Fleetwood, Esq., purchased the manor of Chalfont St. Giles, in 1564. He was Master of the Mint, served the office of High Sheriff for Bucks, and was afterwards elected a knight of that shire. Colonel George Fleetwood was a descendant of his; he was son of Sir William Fleetwood, knight, cupbearer to James I. and Charles I., and comptroller of Woodstock Park. George, the regicide, was one of the members for Bucks, a colonel in the Parliamentary army, and was selected by Cromwell as one of his lords. Never was a family more divided than the Fleetwoods at this period; the eldest branch were strict Roman Catholics, others remained steadfast to the Church of England, whilst George and his youngest brother became wild enthusiasts. George Fleetwood took part in the King's trial, and signed the death-warrant. At the Restoration, he was tried with other regicides, and pleaded guilty. As he confessed with sorrow and tears, his life was saved, and he was afterwards, through the influence of friends and the feeling of respect towards his venerable father, released from the Tower of London, but had to quit the country. He retired to New England. His grief was only a pretence, as he afterwards avowed his principles, glorying in the "good old cause." By his con-

viction his manor of the Vache, in Chalfont, with other properties, were forfeited to the Crown, and the King bestowed the Vache upon his brother, the Duke of York. Colonel Fleetwood died in America. He was connected with the Cromwell family by the marriage of his brother Charles with Bridget, daughter of the Protector, widow of Henry Ireton.

William Goffe.—Goffe was another connection of the Cromwells', as he married Whalley's daughter. He was present during the whole trial in Westminster Hall, and he signed the warrant for the execution of the King. He was the son of the rector of Stanmer, in Sussex; he sat for Yarmouth in 1654, and for Hampshire in 1656, and was one of Cromwell's lords. On Oliver's death, Goffe signed the order for proclaiming Richard Cromwell, and remained attached to this feeble protector. At the Restoration, Goffe fled to America, and remained there. His wife's fidelity and affection to him during his expatriation are remarkably displayed in her letters.

Thomas, Lord Grey.—He was descended from Thomas, Lord Grey, who was attainted in 1603, being at that time in possession of the Manor of Bletchley. The subject of this notice was son of the second Lord Grey of Groby. He was returned a Member of the Long Parliament; joined the Parliamentary army; had the command of Leicestershire and of the associated Midland Counties, and was appointed Governor of Leicester, where a strong garrison was placed. In August, 1643, the Earl of Essex was ordered to relieve and secure Gloucester, and Lord Grey, to show his respect to his superior officer, marched to that nobleman's rendezvous at Aylesbury at the head of a large body of forces belonging to the associated counties, and a number of volunteers to augment the Earl's forces for the expedition. Lord Grey was one of the most active opponents of the King during the war. He attended the King's trial on each day, and added his name to the death-warrant. He died of the gout just preceding the Reformation, and escaped the ill fate which attended so many of the other regicides.

Robert Hammond.—He was a colonel in the Parliamentary army, and he had the custody of the King at Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight; he was the

owner of the Manor of Willen, Stony Stratford, which he purchased about the year 1657, which passed to his daughters. It was sold by them under an Act of Parliament to Dr. Busby, the celebrated master of Westminster School.

Hammond married Mary, the sixth and youngest daughter of John Hampden, the patriot. After the King's death he, with Cromwell, visited Ireland, and Hammond settled at Dublin with the title of a Parliamentary Commissioner. He died in Ireland in October, 1654, his death having been occasioned by a violent fever. He was buried with great pomp at Dublin. His widow remarried Sir John Hobart, of Blickling, Bart., an ancestor of the Earls of Buckinghamshire.

Lieutenant-General Thomas Hammond, another regicide, whose name was included in the Act of Attainder, was uncle to Colonel Robert Hammond. This Thomas Hammond died before the Restoration.

Sir James Harrington.—He was of Merton, Oxfordshire; he married Catherine, daughter of Sir Marmaduke Dayrell, of Fulmer. Sir James was knighted by King Charles I. in 1628; he was of good descent and of great abilities, but they always bordered on the romantic. He sat in the Long Parliament, and became one of the Committee for Middlesex, his sentiments of government always bearing to a Republican system. In 1658, the name of Sir James stands enrolled in the Burgesswick of Wycombe. Sir James was named one of the King's judges; compassion or some other motive prevented his frequent attendance, but he was at Westminster Hall on the 23rd January, and on the same day was in the Painted Chamber; he did not again attend the trial, and he also refused to sign the fatal warrant. The Republicans had great faith in him, and with Thomas Challoner he was appointed joint Master of the Mint. At the Restoration he fell into disgrace, was deprived of his knighthood, and not permitted to receive any benefit from his estates; and was further made liable to any punishment the Legislature should think proper to inflict on him. To soften the rigour of his fate, he strove to find amusement in travel, spending much of his time on the Continent. His wife was one of the beauties of the period, and greatly admired for her personal and mental

charms. His grandchildren squandered the estate, and came to poverty, and the Manor of Fulmer was eventually purchased by Judge Jeffreys, known as the bloody judge.

Cornelius Holland.—Holland was a native of Colchester, and was said to have been a serving man to Sir Henry Vane. He procured a seat in the Long Parliament for New Windsor, and upon the establishment of the Commonwealth was made one of the Council of State. Few from so small beginnings possessed such considerable grants as did Holland. He obtained the Creslow estate, near Whitchurch, for twenty-one years, at £20 a-year rental, worth then some £1600 or £1800 per annum. His name is frequently met with in connection with other estates in Buckinghamshire, and is mostly associated with the act of destroying churches. He has the credit of demolishing the church of East Claydon, which was rebuilt after the Restoration; also the church of Creslow. That of Granborough also fell under his hands.

Cole says that "from a scullion in the Royal Kitchen he rose up to be clerk of it; afterwards had a place in the Green Cloth, and from picking the King's purse, and a sop in the dripping pan, the Devil entered into him, and prompted him to betray and condemn his master, and having murdered the possessor, cast the heir out of the vineyard. Judas was but a type of him, *Cornelius* the original! The rogue, reeking in royal blood, enriched with plunder, was invested with a good share of that authority which he fought against, and wrested from his master, friend, and sovereign. Granborough, infamous for his birth, ought to have some mark of his power and zeal." The writer ascribes to him the destruction of the chancels of Winslow, Addington, and East Claydon, as well as of this at Granborough. At the Restoration he was excepted absolutely both as to life and estate. Happily for himself he escaped, but a very narrow escape it was, as he and his pursuers were both in Colchester at the same time, and he was by favour of a friend secretly conveyed out of the town. He afterwards got an opportunity to leave the country and join his fellow exiles at Lausanne, in Switzerland, where he ended his days in exile and its consequent wretchedness.

Sir Richard Ingoldsby.—The Ingoldsbys were an ancient Buckinghamshire family, seated at Lenborough. Sir Richard Ingoldsby was second son of Sir Richard Ingoldsby, of Lenborough, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Oliver Cromwell, so that Ingoldsby the regicide, was cousin to Oliver the Protector; Ingoldsby was also cousin to Hampden the patriot, and he held a captaincy in Hampden's regiment. In 1644 he was taken prisoner by the King's officers, and on regaining his liberty was raised to the rank of Colonel. His near connections with Cromwell and Hampden caused him to be held in much confidence by the Parliament. The extraordinary explanation he gave of his signature to the warrant for the execution of the King saved him from the fate of the other regicides, and recommended him to favour under the restored King. He declared that Cromwell forced him to sign the warrant, he, Ingoldsby, making all the resistance in his power. The document was not discovered until years after, when it was found that Ingoldsby's signature had every appearance of genuineness, and further, that his seal was attached in the usual and regular manner. Whatever might have been his real sentiments, he certainly experienced more lenity from the Government than any other of the regicides. He seems to have made terms with the King, as he was instituted a Knight of the Bath by Charles II. on his coronation, and served in the Parliaments of 1661, 1679, and 1680, as member for Aylesbury; he had previously been one of the Knights of the Shire of Bucks. He resided at Waldridge, in Dinton; married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Croke, Knight Just., K.B., she having previously been the widow of Thomas Lee, Esq., of Hartwell. Ingoldsby died on the 9th of September, 1685, and was buried at Hartwell church.

Henry Ireton.—Ireton was one of the most active agents in accomplishing the death of the King, never being absent from any public or private sitting of the High Court of Justice. He was the son of German Ireton, Esq., of Attenton, in the county of Nottingham; he was a student at the Middle Temple, but was never called to the Bar. In 1647 he married Bridget, the eldest daughter of Oliver Cromwell, by which marriage his union with Cromwell was rendered closer and more

intimate. He was also a kinsman, and close friend and neighbour of Col. Hutchinson. Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of him as a very grave, serious, religious person. Ireton died in Ireland, of the plague, in 1657. His remains were brought to England, and laid in great state at Somerset House, and then interred with much funeral pomp in Westminster Abbey. At the Restoration the remains were exhumed, and after being indecently exposed upon a gibbet at Tyburn, the trunk was buried there, and the head set upon a pole.

John Jones.—"He was a pretended gentleman of Wales, a recruiter of the Long Parliament, and a colonel; Governor of the Isle of Anglesea; one of the Commissioners of Parliament for the government of Ireland, and one of the 'other House,' that is, the House of Lords, belonging to Cromwell." Such is Wood's description of him. Jones married Jane, widow of Roger Whitson; she was one of Oliver Cromwell's sisters. By this marriage Colonel Jones was also related to the Bekes of Haddenham. His connection with the trial and execution of the King cost him his life, as he was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Charing Cross, in October, 1660, at the same time as Scott, Scrope, and Clements *

Colonel Robert Lilburne.—Lilburne was a brother of the famous John Lilburne; he married Margaret, daughter of Henry Beke, Esq., of Haddenham, in this county. Mr. Beke had another daughter, who became the wife of George Franklin, Esq., also of Haddenham. Of Robert Lilburne, Anthony Wood says, "that being Puritanically educated he sided with the rest against His Majesty, in the beginning of the rebellion, and being thorough paced to Oliver's interest, was by him advanced to be a colonel of horse, some time before the murder of King Charles I., and therefore he thought he could do no less than to requite him with having a hand in it." Afterwards he was made Major-General of the North of England, and Commander-in-Chief of all the Parlia-

* The details of the execution of these unfortunate gentlemen are truly sickening; they were subjected to appalling cruelty. So horrified was the executioner with the task he had undertaken, that he could not complete it, and when Col. Jones' turn came he gave him over to his boy first to hang him, or partly so, and afterwards to hack the body to pieces.

mentary forces in Scotland. On His Majesty's restoration, he surrendered himself upon proclamation, was attainted, and committed prisoner during life. Colonel Lilburne spent the remainder of his days in close confinement in St. Nicholas Island, near Plymouth, in Devonshire, where he died in August 1665, aged fifty-two years.

Henry Martin.—He was son and heir of Sir Henry Martin, Knight, and he was born at Stoke Poges in Bucks, where his father was a copyholder. Martin's character for morality was very indifferent; he married a wife for her riches, but was for some time parted from her; he was certainly no Puritan, but noted for his "wenching." He was once chosen as one of the Knights of the Shire for Bucks. He was an incomparable wit for repartees, and even made a joke at his conviction on the charge of being a regicide. He was one of those who was absolutely excepted both as to life and property; but he had the prudence to surrender in obedience to the proclamation of the Parliament, and was brought to trial on the 10th October, 1660, and convicted. He petitioned for mercy, and referring to his surrender, he said "he had never obeyed any proclamation before this, and hoped that he should not be hanged for taking the King's word now." By great intercession his life was spared. He was made a prisoner first in the Tower, afterwards at Windsor, and eventually for twenty years in Chepstow Castle, where he died suddenly in 1681, in his seventy-eighth year. His wife relieved him out of her jointure during his imprisonment, still at last he was reduced to such a state of wretched poverty and abjectness, both in spirits and fortune, that he was glad to receive a cup of ale from any one who would give it him.

Sir Thomas Mauleverer.—Sir Thomas was of a Yorkshire family, and was eldest son of Sir Richard Mauleverer, High Sheriff of Yorkshire; his mother, before her marriage with Sir Richard, had been the widow of Sir Henry, second son of Lord Wharton of Winchendon and Wooburn. Sir Thomas Mauleverer's daughter was married to Thomas Scott of Aylesbury, the attorney whose name so often appears amongst the acts of the regicides. Sir Thomas being appointed one of the King's judges, attended the trial every day with one exception, and he

signed the warrant for putting the King to death. He was created a Baronet in 1641 by Charles I., but became the opponent to the King in the earliest part of the civil war, and raised two regiments of foot and one of horse for the use of the Parliament. He died soon after the execution of the King; his father Sir Richard outlived him, and at the Restoration, notwithstanding Sir Thomas the son was attainted, the King confirmed the title, and permitted the estate to remain in Sir Richard's possession in reward for his loyalty and the dangers he had submitted to in consequence of his attachment to the Royal cause.

Simon Mayne.—He resided at Dinton Hall, near Aylesbury, and succeeded to the Dinton estate on the death of his father in 1617. Mayne was a county magistrate, and soon became conspicuous in public affairs. He declared for the Parliament, and began his career as a republican. He was elected a member for Aylesbury in the Long Parliament; he sat in the Painted Chamber as one of the members of the High Court of Justice, and took part in the King's trial almost every day of its continuance; his name is signed to the King's death-warrant. During the Protectorate he continued to be one of the Committee for Bucks. In compliance with the proclamation he surrendered, but being excepted by name, was tried with others at the Old Bailey in October, 1660. At first he pleaded not guilty, but afterwards modified his plea, and the jury returned a verdict of guilty against him. His defence was weak and undeserving consideration. He remained in confinement in the Tower until the next year, when he died, and his body was removed to Dinton and buried there on the 18th of April, 1661, he being forty-nine years of age.

Herbert Morley.—The Morleys and the Trevors were related, and several of their family held the names of Morley-Trevor. A John Morley-Trevor subsequently married a daughter of Sir Thomas Frankland. The Trevors took the name of Hampden, Robert Trevor, afterwards Hampden, being the first Lord Viscount Hampden. Herbert Morley early distinguished himself as an opposer of the King; entered the army, and was made a colonel. He joined the King's enemies and sat on the trial, but only attended on three occasions, nor did he sign the death-warrant. Previous to the Restoration

he openly declared his satisfaction in what Monk did, and he was received to favour by Charles II. He died after a very unquiet life, in peace. His property descended to the Trevor family, now represented by the Hobarts. He is supposed to have been far from amiable, or acting upon the principles of generosity, as he acquired the name of "Plunder Master of Surrey."

Isaac Penington.—The Peningtons and the Penns were related by marriage—William Penn having married the daughter-in-law of Isaac Penington. Isaac Penington was an alderman, and served the office of Sheriff of London in 1638, was Member of Parliament for the City in 1640, and Lord Mayor in 1642. The Peningtons resided at Chalfont, and had possessed land there as early as the year 1559. Isaac Penington, who was so often persecuted, and cruelly imprisoned in Aylesbury Gaol, was the eldest son of the Lord Mayor. Alderman Penington was one of the nineteen regicides who, *relying on the word of a King*, came in before the expiration of the forty days. Penington with thirteen others was committed to the Tower of London, over which he once ruled as an honourable and executive governor. He was cruelly used during his imprisonment by Sir John Robinson the lieutenant. Penington's estates were forfeited, and a part of them granted to George, Bishop of Worcester, on petition, and a part to the Duke of Grafton. Penington, although he took part in the King's trial, did not sign the death-warrant; he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower, and never obtained his release, but died there, and the State papers of December 19th, 1661, contain a "Warrant to Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver the corpse of Isaac Penington, who died in prison there, to his relations."

Owen Rowe.—Owen Rowe was descended from Sir Thomas Rowe, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1568. Rowe was excepted out of the Bill of Indemnity both as to life and estate, though he surrendered himself in compliance to the order of the Parliament. He was arraigned at the Old Bailey on the 10th of October, 1660, and was convicted. Though judgment was passed upon him, no execution followed, but he was sent back to the Tower, where he died in 1661; he was buried at Hackney; he married a daughter of Thomas Scott, the Member of

Parliament for Aylesbury, and another of the regicides.

Hugh Peters.—"Mr. Hugh Peters being full of distraction and confusion in his judgment for some certain hours on his deathbed, yet it pleased the Lord a little before he departed this life to work a great dispensation in him, declaring that he had an earnest desire in his lifetime to promote the work of Jesus Christ, so he desired the like now at his death, that the good spirit of King Jesus might reign in the hearts of all his people and subjects; upon uttering which words, he immediately changed, and crying, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' gave up the ghost, ending his days at Brickhill." This extraordinary statement is from the "Weekly Post," of August 16th, 1659, and is not easily reconciled with the fact that the notorious Hugh Peters, who rode triumphing when King Charles I. was brought into captivity into London, was, after trial and condemnation, executed at Charing Cross, on the 16th of October, 1660, as a regicide. Peters' connection with Great Brickhill was occasioned by his having a nephew as rector there. In some dispute respecting a presentation to that rectory the matter devolved upon Peters to arrange. He made short work of the business, by setting aside the right of the patron, Mr. Fountaine, to present, and discarding the claims of the Rev. Robert Hockwell, the rightful rector, instituted the Rev. William Peirce—Peirce being Peters' nephew. The rumour of the death of Peters in 1659, at Great Brickhill, is supposed to have merely been a ruse, purposely circulated in order that he might avoid apprehension and the fate which certainly awaited him. Peters was a Cornishman, born at Fowey, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Noble speaks of him as "the most infamous reptile that ever pretended to preach the Gospel." One of the witnesses at Peters' trial swore that the prisoner took an active part in the arrangement of the execution of the King, and that, fearing a resistance at the last moment, Peters ordered staples to be fixed to the scaffold wherewith to bind the King if necessary; indeed, some have gone so far as to suggest that he was the actual executioner; this, however, is not correct, and Peters, in his defence at his trial, brought a witness who stated that he was confined to his chamber

by sickness at the time the execution took place. It is somewhat inexplicable that Noble, although he assiduously looks up a list of 130 regicides, and gives an account of their lives, trials, deaths, etc., is altogether silent on Peters, and does not refer to his case, although he was one of the most prominent amongst the regicides; this must have been an oversight. Being a preacher Peters' name does not occur in the list of commissioners for the trial of the King.

Thomas Scott.—Scott was an attorney at Aylesbury, and had previously been a brewer at Bridewell, London. He was distantly connected with the Lees, of Burston, and the Pakingtons, of Aylesbury. He once resided at Little Marlow. Sir John Pakington's Aylesbury estates were surrendered to Scott in payment of a fine of £5,000, of which sum Sir John was mulcted by the Parliament for having exerted himself with great zeal as a Royalist. Scott, in conjunction with Simon Mayne, represented Aylesbury in Parliament in 1640, as successors to Sir John Pakington and Ralph Verney, Esq. In the Parliaments of 1654, 1656-8-9, he represented Wycombe; in 1651 he was made High Steward of that borough. Scott was one of the champions for putting the King to death, was present at the trial with the exception of two days, and assisted in the judgment, but he appears to have been almost the last to affix his name to the death-warrant. He was excepted from the Act of Grace, and attempted to escape to France, but was seized on his passage, plundered, and set on shore in Hampshire. He made a second attempt, and landed in Flanders, but fell into the hands of the King's agents, by whom under some pretext he was liberated. Eventually he surrendered to obtain benefit of the Act, was brought to England, tried at the Old Bailey on the 12th August, 1660, and found guilty. On the 17th of October following he was executed at Charing Cross; he attempted to make a speech in his last moments in extenuation of his treason, but the Sheriff interrupted him, and would not allow him; however, he made a long prayer, expressing assurance of future happiness, and said that "God had called him forth as a public spectacle, to some of shame and reproach, to others as a comfort, and to the Divine Majesty as a witness, who had served him with all faithfulness in his public employment, declared the cause

in which he had been engaged was not to be repented of, and gave thanks for the grace which had influenced him ; mentioning with much fervour a manifestation of the Divine presence 'in his dark chamber that morning,'" and ended with a supplication "that he might confirm the testimony of the will of his Creator, and submit himself thereto."

Richard Salway.—We meet with the name of Richard Salway in connection with the family troubles of Sir John Pakington, of Aylesbury. Salway was an active adherent with Thomas Scott, the lawyer member for Aylesbury, and one of the active regicides. Salway was one of the Council of State, to which he was elected in 1659. Sir John Pakington was fined £7670 by the Parliament for his attachment to Royalty. Sir John presented a petition for mitigation, setting forth the great losses he had sustained by the demolition of his house and property. The inhabitants of Aylesbury denied they had demolished his house; they also denied all complicity with Scott and Salway. Salway reported that Sir John had paid £3500, and a compromise was made upon a further payment of £1500 being made. By another indenture, Heydon's Hill, Aylesbury Market House, and all other houses for the use of the market and fairs, stalls and customs to the same belonging, and the fairs and town, with all tradings, etc., were granted by Sir John Pakington and Dame Dorothy, his wife, to Thomas Scott and Richard Salway.

Adrian Scrope.—Scrope was connected with Buckinghamshire by marriage into the family of the Wallers, the poet's sister being his wife. Scrope, or Scroope, was descended from the ancient family of that name. When his brother-in-law Waller was in trouble, he interceded with the Parliament to permit his return to England. In his own troubles he found no friend to save his life. He was tried with other regicides, convicted of being concerned in the trial and execution of the King, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The sentence was carried out at Charing Cross, in the usual barbarous manner, in October, 1660, at the same time that Scott, Clement, and Jones were executed.

Sidney.—Algernon Sidney was the second surviving son of Robert, second Earl of Leicester; he represented Amersham in Parliament in the reign of Charles II.

When his father went as Ambassador to Denmark in 1632, he took his son Algernon with him; and, four years after, he likewise accompanied his father on his embassy to France. His first entrance upon public life was in 1641, when, upon the breaking out of the Rebellion in Ireland, he went over to that country, of which his father was then Lord-Lieutenant, and commanded a troop of horse in the Earl's regiment. Both he and his elder brother, the Lord Viscount Lisle, distinguished themselves by their gallantry in the campaigns of that and the following year. Returning to England in August, 1643, the two brothers, who professed to be on their way to the King at Oxford, were seized as they landed in Lancashire, by order of the Parliament; an incident which lost them the favour of Charles, who believed that their capture was of their own contrivance. On this they both joined the Parliamentary party, and Algernon received a commission as captain of a troop of horse in the regiment of the Earl of Manchester. In April, 1645, Fairfax raised him to the rank of colonel, and gave him a regiment; and in 1646, his brother, Lord Lisle, having become Lieutenant-General of Ireland, he was made Lieutenant-General of the Horse in that kingdom and Governor of Dublin. He acted as one of the judges at the trial of the King, although he was not present when the sentence was passed, nor did he sign the warrant for the execution. On the establishment of the Protectorate, however, he retired from public affairs, and he appears to have continued to reside at the family seat at Penshurst, in Kent, and at other places in the country, during the government of Cromwell and his son. But on the restoration of the Long Parliament, in May, 1659, Sidney again came forward, and on the thirteenth of that month was nominated one of the Council of State. He was sent the same year to Denmark to negotiate a peace between that country and Sweden, and was absent when the King returned. Whilst at Denmark, he made some observations as to the execution of Charles I., which were reported to the King. Finding the antipathy of the King so great he dare not return home, but resided at various places abroad. In France he openly favoured a plan for the establishment of a Republic in England. In 1677, a pardon and permission for him to return home

were obtained from Charles II., on the plea that he was anxiously desirous to see his aged father once more before he died. The Earl died that same year, and, although he had never approved of the course his son had taken, left him a legacy of £5,100.

When the Rye House Plot was announced, in June, 1683, Sidney was immediately arrested, along with his friend Lord Russell, and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. He was brought up to the bar of the King's Bench to plead on the 7th of November, and his trial took place on the 21st, before Sir George Jeffreys, who had been lately promoted to the place of Lord Chief Justice. Jeffreys exhibited little of his wonted coarseness and passion on this occasion, but his demeanour was very determined and inflexible, and he bore down every objection of the prisoner with an authority that nothing could shake or impress. The only evidence in support of the principal facts charged was Lord Howard of Escrick, who had, according to his own account, been a party to the plot, and now came to swear away the lives of his associates in order to save his own; and as the law of high treason required two witnesses to prove the crime, the other was supplied by bringing forward a manuscript found among Sidney's papers, and asserted, no doubt with truth, to be his handwriting, which it was pretended contained an avowal and defence of principles the same, or of the same nature, with those involved in the alleged plot. He was found guilty, and being again brought up on the 26th, was sentenced to be put to death after the manner of execution then enjoined by law in cases of high treason. He twice petitioned the King for pardon, but all that could be obtained for him was the remission of the degrading and brutal parts of the sentence; and on Friday, the 7th of December, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. No one ever suffered with more firmness, or with less parade. He did not even address the people; but, when asked to speak, replied that he had made peace with God, and had nothing to say to man.

The attainder of Sidney was reversed after the Revolution by the seventh private act of the first session of the first Parliament of William and Mary, the preamble of which declared that Sidney had been most unjustly and wrongfully convicted and attainted.

Temple.—Sir Peter Temple, Bart., was son and heir of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stowe, by Hester, daughter of Miles Sandys, of Latimer, the lady who had so many descendants. King Charles I. knighted Sir Peter in 1641, and he represented the town of Buckingham in the last two Parliaments of that sovereign, and went with his party all their lengths both in the Parliament and in the army. He was a colonel in the army up to the time of the King's death, when he declined serving any longer. He fell into great embarrassment in his fortune. Sir Peter married twice. By his second wife he had Sir Richard Temple, his successor, ancestor of the Dukes of Buckingham, and two daughters, Frances and Hester, one of whom was a busy woman and a great politician. The three brothers of Sir Peter were all warm Parliamentarians. Colonel Sir John Temple was one of the Commissioners for Munster; Thomas Temple, LL.D., was voted by Parliament "to be put into a parsonage;" and Miles, the youngest, much distinguished himself in the army.

Peter Temple. — Peter Temple was a relation, and probably a near one, to Sir Peter Temple, Bart. He was one of the King's judges, and only omitted two attendances during the whole time; he also signed the death-warrant. He was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, surrendered, and was tried with his relative, James Temple. Being convicted, and asked why sentence should not be passed, he pleaded the proclamation; he was sentenced to death. No execution followed, but he remained a prisoner until his death.

James Temple. — James Temple was a relative of the two former of the same name. He was a Sussex gentleman; but when we are assured that Hester Temple saw seven hundred descendants, their identity is not very easily ascertained. James Temple obtained a seat in the Long Parliament; he sat in the Painted Chamber on eight occasions, and attended the King's trial every day, and added his name to the death-warrant. He was brought to trial October 16th, 1660, with Peter Temple, and convicted; but his life was spared to him, and he was suffered to remain in the Tower, where he is supposed to have died.

Valentine Wauton.—He was better known as Colonel

Wauton; he was present at all the sittings of the Court in Westminster Hall during the King's trial, and his name appears on the warrant for the King's death. Wauton was of an ancient Huntingdonshire family; he married Margaret, sister of Oliver Cromwell, and thus his connection with Buckinghamshire. His second wife was a daughter of Mr. Pym, of Brill, and widow of one Austin of that place. He was one of the Republican Council of State installed immediately after the King's death, which was composed of twenty regicides out of forty-one members. His name is found in all the Councils till the year 1653. He was one of the fifty-one persons wholly excepted from the Indemnity Act. The close of his life was spent in Flanders under a feigned name, and in the disguise of a gardener. He died there in 1661. Just before his death he discovered himself to his attendants, and desired that his relations in England might be apprised of his decease.

Edward Whalley.—Whalley's mother was aunt to the Protector, so that Whalley was Oliver's cousin. He early distinguished himself in the service of the Parliament, particularly at the battle of Naseby, for which he was voted by Parliament to be a colonel of horse; and for his brilliant services at Banbury, which place he took by storm, Parliament gave him the thanks of the House, and £100 to purchase two horses. Cromwell confided to him the person of the King. He was an abject tool of Cromwell's, who employed him to carry all the petitions of the army to Parliament, to prepare them for the tragic death of the King. The restoration of monarchy becoming a certainty, he saw the danger of his situation, and retired to the Continent. One hundred pounds were offered for his apprehension if taken dead or alive, as it was reported he had returned to England. He managed to reach Lucerne, in Switzerland; but feeling himself unsafe, and too much exposed to the chances of being arrested, he privately wandered about for some years a wretched exile. He died in a foreign clime, but when or where is not known.

Thomas Wogan.—Wogan was of a very knightly family. He went late into the Parliament service; in 1648 he was a captain under Colonel Horton, and distinguished himself in the victory obtained by him over Major-General Langhorn, in Wales, one of the most

important in its consequences during the war, for which, as a reward, the Parliament ordered that he should have his arrears audited, and as a further one, for his gallantry, he was to partake in the distribution with others who had fought and obtained the battle; he was highly extolled for the conduct he had shown in keeping steady to the Parliament interest when his former superior officer, Langhorn, had deserted to the King; and I suppose it was in consequence of this that he obtained a colonel's commission.

He was appointed one of the King's judges, and he sat in the Painted Chamber, January 18th and 26th, and in Westminster Hall the 22nd, 23rd, and 29th, and signed the warrant for execution, so that he was implicated as far in this nefarious wickedness as he well could be.

Very soon afterwards he was sent off to Ireland, and became governor of Duncannon; he was, however, taken prisoner by Colonel Zauchy, but was soon liberated, and continued in the service of the usurpers. At the Restoration he was included in the exception of the Bill of Indemnity, but he had prudently retired to the continent; where or how he spent the last years of his life is entirely unknown. Wogan's connection with Buckinghamshire is very slight. There was a Captain Edward Wogan, who was employed in the Parliament service, but revolting from it became a colonel in the service of King Charles II.; he was a brave, dauntless man. Going into Scotland that nation secured and meant to surrender him, but after long and tedious delays, he had the good fortune to persuade the keeper to join him and escape abroad; ever after he was active, persevering, and venturous in the Royal interest, coming over secretly when necessary, and returning to the exiled monarch to speak of his success; he died at the English Court at Brussels, much lamented, in 1653. One of this family was William Wogan, Esq., of Ealing, Co. Middlesex, whose portrait is in the possession of Mr. E. R. Baynes, of Stone Croft, in the parish of Stone, a descendant on the female side. He was set down for a knight of the Royal Oak, his estate being valued at £600 a year.

Other names might be added to this long catalogue, but their connexions with this county are so slight as scarcely to be traced.

THE LATE MR. JOHN HEWITT.

Although the name of Mr. Hewitt may not be familiar to many of those who read these "Records," his eminence as an Antiquary seems to justify us in paying a tribute to his memory. Mr. Hewitt was a native of Lichfield; but his connection with the War Office brought him in early life to Woolwich, where he resided for thirty years. Although he was not a scholar in the classical sense of that term, his acquirements were nevertheless considerable. Latin he could read with ease; he was also a perfect master of French, and familiar with German. But it was Archæology, in all its branches, which was his favourite pursuit; and in that his knowledge was both accurate and profound. Archæology was his special study; and with that instinct which urges men to overcome any difficulties which may meet them in the pursuit of objects to which their genius guides them, so Mr. Hewitt seems to have mastered everything which stood in the way of his attaining distinction as an antiquarian.

In the year 1860, Mr. Hewitt published a work in three volumes, 8vo, on "Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe," with copious illustrations from contemporary monuments. The subject is treated exhaustively; and this work, which abounds with illustrations, is generally regarded as a standard authority. He also published, about two years before his death, a revised edition of Stothard's great work on "Monumental Effigies." He was, moreover, a frequent and much valued contributor to the pages of the Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute, of which Society he had been a member from its beginning.

In his religion he was a sincere Churchman and a devout Christian; and he was frequently accustomed to say that his examination of creation, and especially of the wonders of geology, and of the anatomy of nature in its most minute developments, as seen through the microscope (an instrument which he frequently used),

impressed him more and more with the sense of the infinite goodness and wisdom of the Creator.

Mr. Hewitt retired to Lichfield in 1873, where he devoted his last years to a continual study of its far-famed Cathedral; and he has left behind him a most valuable legacy to the neighbourhood in his simple, but comprehensive and most trustworthy little manual, entitled "A Guide to Lichfield Cathedral."

He died at Lichfield, on January 10, 1878, in the 71st year of his age.

The Dean of Lichfield (Dr. Bickersteth), with a high appreciation of his character and attainments, permitted the funeral to take place in the Cathedral Close; and he has recently, at the request of a near relative of Mr. Hewitt, written upon his tombstone an inscription, a copy of which we append to this notice of a highly gifted and most estimable man.

H. S.

JOHANNIS HEWITT,

VIRI ACUTE DOCENTI ET INTEGRITATE VITÆ INSIGNIS;

REBUM ANTIQUARUM INDAGATORIS FIDELIS,

EARUM PRÆSERTIM QUÆ AD HANC ECCLESIAM

CATHEDRALEM LICHFELDIENSEM ATTINENT

INTERPRETIS FELICIS.

OBIIT IV ID. JAN., A.S. MDCCCLXXVIII.

"DOMINE, DILEXI DECOREM DOMUS TUÆ, ET LOCUM

HABITATIONIS GLORIÆ TUÆ.

OBSERVANTIÆ ET AMORIS CAUSA

POSUIT CORNELIA MARIA GREEN.

LICHFIELD, MDCCCLXXIX.

Translation.

HERE LIES BURIED
JOHN HEWITT,
EMINENT FOR THE QUICKNESS OF HIS UNDERSTANDING
AND THE INTEGRITY OF HIS LIFE,
HE WAS A CONSCIENTIOUS ARCHÆOLOGIST, AND
MORE ESPECIALLY A SUCCESSFUL INTERPRETER
OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THIS
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF LICHFIELD.
HE DIED JANUARY 10TH, 1878.

"LORD, I HAVE LOVED THE HABITATION OF THY HOUSE,
AND THE PLACE WHERE THINE HONOUR DWELLETH."

MARY GREEN CAUSED THIS SLAB TO
BE PLACED OVER HIS REMAINS,
IN TOKEN OF HER RESPECT AND
AFFECTION.
LICHFIELD, 1879.

Proceedings of the Society, 1879.

The Annual Meeting was held at St. Albans on Thursday, July 24th. some of the Members having expressed a desire to inspect the Abbey Church of St. Alban—Britain's proto-martyr—the Committee decided on making an excursion there.

The members and their friends left the Aylesbury station of the London and North Western Railway at 10.5 a.m., and on arriving at St. Albans made their way to the grand old Abbey Church. Here they were met by some members of the kindred Society of St. Albans, and Mr. Chapple, surveyor of the diocese of Rochester and clerk of the restoration works.

Mr. Chapple, having assembled the party under the tower, gave a most lucid and exhaustive account, chronologically, of the past history of the edifice, and of the steps which have been taken to restore it to its former beauty. He commenced his observations by expressing the pleasure he experienced at being enabled to oblige his friend Mr. Lowndes, whom he had known at Chesham many years ago, when the church of that place underwent restoration under the direction of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, who, as they knew, had also been the architect for the restoration of St. Alban's, and whose rule had always been to carry out such works as nearly as possible without deviating from the lines of the original builders. He then alluded to the martyrdom of St. Alban, to whom the church was dedicated, which took place in the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 303. The saint, according to tradition, was buried under the site now occupied by his shrine, or, as some have supposed, under the north transept. A little memorial church was erected soon after his death on the site of the martyrdom. This church is mentioned by the venerable Bede, and remained until Offa II., King of the Mercians, in 795, founded the present abbey and a monastery of the Benedictine Order of Monks. Materials were afterwards collected by Ealdred, the eighth abbot, from the ancient city of Verulam, for the purpose of rebuilding the abbey, but it was delayed until William the Conqueror, in 1077, appointed Paul de Caen to the abbey. The work of building a larger and more magnificent structure was inaugurated by Paul of Caen, and carried out in the course of the next three centuries by Abbots De Cella, Trumpington, Eversden, Wheathampstead, and Wallingford. The abbey church in its present state remains unaltered in the main from its state in the sixteenth century. In 1870 the central tower, which is unique and beyond comparison with that of any tower of its date remaining in England, was found to be in a very dangerous condition; prompt measures were at once taken to avert its threatened fall, and the consequent destruction of the whole building. The difficult work of shoring it up was fully explained by Mr. Chapple, and it was successfully accomplished. From the floor line the height of the tower, which with the transepts, the choir, and a part of the nave, was the work of Paul de Caen, the first Norman abbot, was 144 feet. Paul pulled down the Saxon Church and built the Norman one, partly with the materials of its

predecessor, and partly with others taken from Verulam. The only Saxon portions now remaining are some columns in the triforia on the east side of the transepts. Mr. Chapple called attention to a cap of one of the Saxon columns of Purbeck marble, which was interesting as showing that the Purbeck quarries were in use before the time of the Conquest. Referring to the colour of the walls, he said Sir G. Scott had an idea that the interior walls had been originally white, but had been coloured in the thirteenth century. After remarking that the abbey gave examples of the several leading periods of church architecture—the Norman of the twelfth century, the Early English of the thirteenth century, the Decorative of the fourteenth century, and the Perpendicular of the fifteenth century—he pointed out that the great structural alteration in the Norman abbey of Paul de Caen, was made by John de Cella, who was abbot from 1195 to 1214, and who designed and began to rebuild the western part of the nave in the Early English style of his own period, but was obliged, by want of funds to carry out his designs, to limit himself to the commencement of the erection of the west towers, respecting which Sir G. Scott said there did not exist in England a work so perfect in art. John de Cella's design was to lower the floor line of the porches, and intended that the high altar should be reached by a succession of steps from the west. (The original floor line is now exposed in the north and south porches.) The nave is the longest in the world, and the extreme total length of the building is 550 feet. The view therefore, when the restorations are completed, from west to east, will be especially interesting. John de Cella's successor, William de Trumpington, continued the building, but sacrificed from economical motives de Cella's designs, and thus was enabled to complete them, though in an inferior manner. Mr. Chapple explained the manner in which the south aisle of the western part of the nave, which was very much out of the perpendicular, had been shored up and pushed into its original perpendicular position. During the abbacy of Hugh de Eversden, between 1308 and 1326, the Norman piers on the south side of the nave gave way on the day of St. Paulinus in 1325, and two large columns with the roof fell down while a large congregation were hearing mass. The rebuilding of the ruined portion was commenced by Eversden's successor, Abbot Wallingford, who diverted the funds intended for the repairs to the erection of an astronomical clock. For this a complaint against him was made to the king, who, in reply, said there was only one man who could make an astronomical clock, whilst any one could construct an abbey. After noticing other architectural details, as the chapel of St. Stephen, and two apsidal chapels, particularly commending a doorway of Norman architecture, of the period of Henry II., as almost unique, the only other instance within his knowledge being in Dunstable Church, Mr. Chapple led his audience into the choir. Here he showed that the work of restoration had been virtually completed. One of the principal points to which he directed attention in the choir was the painted roofs. During the repair of those roofs it was discovered that beneath a painted ceiling of the seventeenth century, were older paintings of greatly superior character. The comparatively modern paint was skilfully removed, and some grand specimens of mediæval work were thus brought to light. There were in all sixty-six panels in eleven rows of six panels each, all with different designs. One of the most spirited of these designs represented the martyrdom of St. Alban. After passing through the south aisle of the choir, and remarking upon several objects of interest there, the altar or Wallingford screen was inspected. It was erected by Abbot Wallingford, and Mr Chapple enlarged upon the beauty of the workmanship, and the architectural skill displayed. Various restorations were noticed in this part, as the polished

Purbeck marble steps, which had been substituted for the previous stone steps; the pavement in imitation of the old one, and some beautiful tabernacle work. The saints' chapel and shrine were subjects of much interesting description. In February, 1872, the workmen, in opening out the eastern arches of the sanctuary, discovered about two thousand fragments of Purbeck marble built into the walls as common rubble masonry. These fragments have been put together, and form a large portion of the once gorgeous shrine of St. Alban. Some portions of another shrine, dedicated to St. Amphibalus, were also discovered. These fragments have been put together, and though there are many deficiencies in the original designs, yet there is no question about the marvellous skill and artistic taste of those who erected them in the first instance. The watching chamber in St. Alban's Chapel was erected by Wheathampstead about 1430. The monks, from this chamber, continually watched the shrine, both by night and by day. The beautiful Lady Chapel was next visited, and its characteristic architectural features detailed. There was a public footpath through it, which has been lately stopped up, and the east end had been used as a school for more than a century, but it is now under the course of restoration. According to the annals of the monastery, the heart of one of the abbots, Abbot Norton, was buried before the altar in the south aisle. Its receptacle had been discovered, being a cylindrical hole sunk in a block of stone, in which was found a small box of oriental design, and bearing upon it characters which were pronounced to be Arabic. This box was supposed to have contained the heart of the abbot. Mr. Chapple went over the portions of the Abbey still under restoration, commenting as he did so upon various points, and again expressed the pleasure it had given him to have been of any service.

At the close of his description, the Ven. Archdeacon Cust returned the thanks of the Society and all present to Mr. Chapple, for the kindness he had shown them, and the valuable and interesting information he had given. Mr. Chapple, in response, again alluded to his old acquaintance with Mr. Lowndes as supplying abundant motive for his doing anything in his power to serve a Society with which that gentleman was connected.

The party adjourned to the Peahen Inn for refreshment, after which the Annual Meeting was held. The Ven. Archdeacon Purey Cust, who presided, proposed Mr. Du Pré as chairman, which having been agreed to, the Vice-Presidents were re-elected, as were also the Honorary Secretaries, the Treasurer, and the Auditors. Mr. Lowndes then read the balance-sheet, by which it appeared that there was a balance due to the Treasurer of £12 0s. 9d. in December, 1878. He observed that the balance in question had been reduced by a donation of £5 from Mr. Du Pré, which he felt bound to mention as a mark of personal kindness to himself and of the interest he took in the well-being of the Society. Twelve new members were elected. The meeting then rose, after examining some interesting deeds regarding land in the parish of Ellesborough, which were submitted to it by the Rev. W. T. Drake, of Cuddesden, and one of which seemed to have been executed by Richard de Molines, Prior of Dunstable, in the early part of the thirteenth century. One or two other archæological curiosities were shown by another gentleman.

On leaving the Peahen Inn, the members were conducted by the Rev. H. Fowler to the site of the Roman city of Verulam. On the way, he pointed out the clock tower, and also a drinking fountain which now occupies the site of a commemorative cross to Eleanor, Queen of Edward I., erected where her body rested on its way to Westminster. The cross was destroyed in 1702. He then led them down the British trackway across the little river Ver, where a dam had doubtless been

raised in order to make the river a boundary and protection to the city. Mr. Fowler pointed out the entrances to the city, the remains of the walls and a tower, and also mentioned the direction of the old Roman roads. The walls, according to Camden, were twelve feet in thickness; they were composed of layers of flints, embedded in a strong cement of lime, small gravel, and coarse sand, and interspersed with layers of large Roman tiles, and formed a most massive and durable piece of masonry. Extensive discoveries of Roman remains have been made, and amongst them, the foundations of several ancient villas, a theatre, and a temple near St. Michael's Church. Camden says, "Were I to relate what common report affirms, of the many Roman coins, statues of gold and silver, vessels, marble pillars, cornices, and wonderful monuments of ancient art dug up here, I should scarcely be believed."

The last object of interest in the day's excursion was the Church of St. Michael, founded by Ulsinus, the sixth abbot, in 948. It was built within the boundaries of the city of Verulam, and its walls are composed chiefly of flints and Roman tiles. Sir G. Scott made a careful survey of the church, and reported that the piers and arches of the nave, which were formerly supposed to be Saxon, are of the twelfth century, the clerestory and south aisle of the thirteenth century, the windows and roof of the nave of the fifteenth century, and the tower of the sixteenth century. It was restored in 1860. One of the chief objects of interest in the church is the monument of Lord Bacon on the north side of the chancel, where the great statesman is represented as seated in his arm-chair and attired in his Chancellor's robes.

The party then returned by the side of the "fish ponds" and the river Ver to the station, and thence to Aylesbury, where they arrived at 7.12 p.m., after a most pleasant and instructive excursion.

Architectural & Archæological Society

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CORRIGENDA TO PART 2, VOL. V.

Page 103, line 24, *for* "his chair and attired in his Chancellor's robes," *read* "a doublet and hose."

BURNHAM CHURCH.

BY JOHN EDWARD FIELD, M.A.,

Assistant Curate of Burnham.

The Parish Church of Burnham-cum-Boveney, dedicated to St. Peter, cannot claim a foremost place among the churches of Buckinghamshire either for antiquity, or for architectural value, or for picturesque beauty. Yet in each of these respects it may fairly be considered to hold a position among churches of the second rank; and it has a special interest from the indications which it preserves of a form and arrangement older than that of the present building.

Other places of interest in the parish are well known. In the now famous Beeches we have the splendid relic of those primeval forests from which the town and county of Buckingham have in all probability derived their name, and whose first felling is recorded in the name of the adjacent town of Beaconsfield. The traditions of the district are full of value to the historian; the beeches pollarded, as it is said, to make musket stocks for Cromwell's soldiers; and the remarkable entrenchment, deep in the forest, called by the neighbouring villagers "Hardican's moat," the name being sometimes written Hartecol, sometimes even Harlequin, but apparently connecting the site with an encampment of King Hardicanute. Westward of the Beeches is the park of Dropmore, with historical associations and great botanical attractions of a different character. And further south are the ruined remains of Burnham Abbey, with which the readers of these Records have recently been made familiar. Probably some of those who are led to Burnham by these various objects of interest will welcome a description of the parish church, in order that they may be able to judge how far it will repay them for including an inspection of it in their visit. I have no opportunity of consulting books on the history of the parish; but I give the conclusions which appear to me to be probable from my own observations.

It would seem that there was no church here before the present one was erected, the oldest parts of which are transitional Norman. But the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene at Boveney on the bank of the river, at the southern end of the parish, exhibits several features of early Norman character, including a very capacious font of plain design. It is reasonable to infer that this was the original parish church, occupying a position near the river, like that of the neighbouring Church of Dorney, while the parish in each case straggles away several miles into the higher ground northward. Those who are acquainted with the wooded uplands on the northern bank of the Thames may notice how frequently a similar arrangement occurs. There is an ancient road, traceable in a direct and continuous line nearly all the way from Boveney to Beaconsfield; sometimes being a good road, sometimes a footpath, sometimes a private cart-track; while parts of it again have entirely disappeared, and parts are a green lane merely preserved as the parish boundary of Burnham and Dorney. This last fact, and the direct course of the track, are sufficient evidence of its antiquity and historical value. Now this lane passes along the back of Burnham, at a few hundred yards to the east of the village. We may therefore be sure that this was the line of traffic between Boveney and Beaconsfield before Burnham existed, and that Boveney was at one time a place of greater importance than Burnham. The position of Burnham Church, too, is remarkable; for it is not on the principal thoroughfare of the village, nor even on its main crossing. It is approached from the eastern and the western districts merely by footpaths, and from the north it has no direct approach at all. It is obvious that the village had assumed its form before its church was erected, and the inhabitants must have gone elsewhere for divine worship. All this seems to indicate that there could not have been a church here of pure Norman date, and that we still possess portions of the original church in the existing fabric.

The church consists of a nave and a deep chancel, the nave having two aisles, of which the northern is merged at its eastern end into a large transept; while the angle between the south aisle and the chancel is occupied by the tower. A vestry has been added on the north side

of the chancel at its eastern end. Each of the aisles has a porch at its door, and there is a modern porch of no value east of the transept.

The western arch and the lancet windows in the spacious chancel suggest at once that this must be coeval with the abbey (founded in 1266), where similar lancets are to be seen. The advowson of the church having been bestowed upon the abbey at that time, it is likely that improvements may then have been made in the building. The chancel arch is of broad span, springing from corbels of simple form; but these appear to have been cut away on their western sides to make room for a rood-screen which has been recently removed and destroyed. But the arch between the chancel and the tower (now blocked up) is of different character. It is low and massive, with no ornament, and its simple lines are only broken by the square abaci. This seems to be older than the rest of the chancel; and indeed it is commonly held that this form of the abacus was never used in England later than 1200. The western arch of the tower was originally similar to this; but later work has been inserted into it, and the abaci have been cut away on the outer side. In the south wall of the tower is a mutilated window of the same period. Whatever point of interest its east wall may have contained is now obliterated by the insertion of a rough wooden doorway. We can certainly point to this lowest stage of the tower as the one portion of the church which exhibits the most evident marks of antiquity; though it is not impossible that the whole chancel may be of the same age.

The east window of five lights, with elaborate geometrical tracery, is a beautiful specimen of the style which was developed at the close of the thirteenth century. Other windows of the chancel are of the same period; and a bold roll-moulding runs as a string-course round the greater part of it, and is carried up in a rectangular form to make a quasi-dripstone over the tower arch which has been described. There is also a decorated piscina, and a plain arched recess to serve for sedilia. But this decorated work is a later addition to the chancel. Between the two windows of this period on the south side, a lancet still remains. On the north side a complete series of four lancets is traceable; of which the

easternmost is blocked up by a monument (1661), but the outside of it is to be seen unaltered in the vestry, and the next is also blocked up by a monument (1731) leaving the outline of its inner face perfect. Of the third and fourth lancets, only part of the inner faces are visible, on either side of the head of a large decorated window, which has been inserted in place of them. On the outside, at the foot of this large window, and immediately below the position of the westernmost lancets, the base and one side of a low side window are to be seen. This is an important relic; for the usual place of such a window is immediately within the chancel arch, and therefore this almost certainly marks the westward limit of an original chancel. It is remarkable also that the remainder of the present chancel, west of this point, forms a square. We therefore presume that this square portion may have been divided from the original chancel by an arch on the east, as it still is from the nave on the west, forming the centre of a cruciform church. On the south side this opened into a transept, which formed also the basement of the tower; and we are not without grounds for inferring that there was another transept on the north side. The place where the arch would have opened into this north transept is now occupied by two windows, which are late and poor imitations of the larger decorated window next to them. (The two former windows, but not the last, appear in the woodcut.)

The western arch between the tower and the south aisle indicates that the original church had an aisle in the same position. At present this aisle is separated from the nave by four arches resting on octagonal piers with moulded caps of the later decorated period. A small doorway inserted into the tower arch is also of that date. The arrangement of the windows in this aisle is curious. Beginning from the east, we have first a single decorated lancet, with ogee head, and a good cusped quatrefoil piscina in the sill; then a two-light window with tracery verging on the perpendicular style; and next a similar window but more richly ornamented, having shafts upon its jambs and mullion (the last bearing a little obliterated shield at the springing of the tracery inside), and a good hood-moulding with heads for corbels. No doubt this window, and perhaps

the preceding also, is an insertion, of the period when memorial windows were common; and it may indicate that the aisle was broken up into separate chantries. In the next bay is the porch; both its outer and inner doorways being good imitations of early decorated work; and as the restoration of the church was very conservative, we may suppose that this represents what previously existed here. The window of this aisle west of the porch is early decorated, similar to the side windows in the chancel.

The western end of the church was rebuilt in the period of the fully developed decorated style, with stone and flint-work in small chequers. The west windows of the aisles are plain specimens of this period, with two lights. That of the nave is a beautiful one of three lights, with flowing tracery approaching to the flamboyant forms. The doorway beneath it is modern. One of the western buttresses, at a recent restoration, was found to contain several stones with mouldings of early decorated work turned inwards.

We come now to the northern aisle and transept. These are of the early decorated period, and are divided from the nave by plain arches resting on circular piers with simply moulded caps. The two side windows of this aisle are insertions of the next period, like those which have been described in the south aisle. The transept is full of interest. But its gable has been rebuilt in brickwork, apparently of the later Tudor times; and a square-headed window of the same age, with a brick dripstone, has been inserted in the east wall opposite the line of the nave aisle. The great north window of the transept is perhaps the finest feature of the whole church. It is of four lights, with moulded mullions and shafts on the jambs, the capitals of which are well carved; and it has rich flowing tracery, showing the beginning of the transition to perpendicular. This window, therefore, is coeval with the west end of the church, and with the similarly ornamented window in the south aisle. But the transept itself is about a century earlier than this inserted window. We have proof that it was part of the same plan which included the building of the aisle, from the fact that the arch which fronts it is of broader span than the others, so as to bring the first pier into a line with

the west wall of the transept. Attached to the respond of this arch is a small shaft, evidently intended to carry a vault over the transept. Originally also there were lateral aisles to this transept; and the well-moulded arches which opened into these, with the heads of the shafts which supported them, are still to be seen in the interior, though outside they are entirely concealed by modern brickwork and masonry. The stonework of these arches is only here and there discernible, since most of it has been renovated in stucco; and a flimsy stucco vault has been added over it, in the tasteless style in which the first attempts at Gothic restoration were made, contrasting strongly with the bold mouldings of the arches from which it rises. The east wall of the transept, then, is occupied with two arches; one of which corresponds in width with the nave aisle fronting it, and in it the Tudor window already described is inserted; while the other is of greater width. Opposite the latter is a similar arch, occupying the whole west wall of the transept; while the adjoining narrower arch, which crossed the nave aisle, has been replaced by a modern one cut out nearer to the roof; evidently made to admit the sound of the organ from the west gallery into the transept gallery, when these existed.

The impost on which these arches rested still occupies the angle between the transept and the nave aisle. This impost and the ancient arch now blocked up prove that the transept had a western aisle. In this case the wall of the nave aisle must have been carried on eastward to the transept, when the transept aisle was destroyed. We therefore look for indications of such an alteration here. On examination we find that the masonry has evidently been much disturbed; that the porch has been moved further east than the position which it would naturally occupy opposite the south porch; and that the window east of this has been built in upon a different level from the other window, and shows evident signs of a removal. It is now placed exactly where the arch from the western transept aisle must have opened into the nave aisle. Let us now look again at the site of the eastern transept aisle, where both the arches have been blocked up. Here also, at the place where this aisle would have opened into the chancel, we have seen that the windows are not ancient; and we have surmised that in all probability there was an arch

of early date, corresponding with the opposite one into the tower. We now infer that when the church was remodelled in the early decorated period, and the crossing of the original transepts was thrown into the chancel and a larger north transept was built out from the nave, the architect left the older north transept to serve as an eastern aisle to his new one.

The second stage of the tower has three plain circular-headed windows, blocked up. The next stage is apparently of late decorated date, like the ornamental doorway inserted in its western arch. It has a single ogee window, of small size, looking northward over the chancel roof. The upper stage was destroyed by fire in the last century, and was re-erected in wood, in a style which makes it a disfigurement not only to the church but to the village.

A most unfortunate scheme was mooted some years ago for the renovation of the tower, which was to include the transformation of its lower stage into an organ chamber, involving the enlargement and widening of its ancient arches. This would not merely have destroyed the most distinctive details which remain of the original building, but would also have effaced the chief traces which we possess of its early cruciform design; for the low and massive arch within the chancel at once attracts the experienced eye and speaks of the building having undergone some complete change of plan. Happily this work of destruction was delayed, and we may hope that the better taste and increased knowledge of the present day will never suffer it to be revived. What is needed, both to complete the restoration of the church and to provide a suitable place for the organ, is the rebuilding of the eastern aisle of the north transept. The beautiful arches now blocked up in the transept wall would thus be opened out, and the modern brickwork which disfigures the outside would be removed. An arch would be cut through into the chancel; and as the original early arch, whose existence at this point we have surmised, has now disappeared for centuries, the new one would naturally be made to suit modern requirements for the fuller passage of sound for the organ. At the same time the stately transept, which now protrudes nakedly from the building like an unnatural excrescence, would once more

regain its original dignity by the addition of that support on its eastern side which its large proportions need.

Several other objects, possessing different degrees of interest from an antiquarian point of view, may be enumerated. In the vestry is a good iron-bound chest, with a device of foliated ironwork about the lock, apparently of the decorated period. A little alabaster figure, six inches high, preserved in the vestry, represents a monk in his habit, or a serving-boy in a girded rochet, holding a cup or bowl. I should conjecture that it forms part of a representation of some ceremonial in which a server is carrying the vessel of holy water for the officiating priest to sprinkle it from—possibly in the dedication of a new chantry chapel. It appears to be of the 15th century. Three helmets, formerly suspended in the chancel, are now in the belfry. The rod which carried one of them was adorned with a wooden figure of a bird, the crest of the Eyres, whose monuments are described below. The walls of the transept have been adorned with a large number of carved oak panels, collected by one of the late occupants, some of them with classical figures and others with scriptural scenes, among which there are several of extremely beautiful workmanship. The altar-rails and gate are also made up of five large oak panels, carved and pierced, of the renaissance period. An inscription, THE POPE IS A KNAVE, rudely cut in several places on the piers of the south aisle, is also worth recording as a curious relic of a past age.

I proceed to give an account of the older and more interesting monuments in the church. The first to be noticed are two slabs with brasses (formerly in the nave but now in the aisles) commemorating the Eyres, lords of the manor of Allerds in East Burnham. On one, now in the north aisle, are an inscription and effigies, in the costume of the commencement of the 16th century, to *Gyles Eyre and Elizabeth his wife;* the effigies of their children being lost: and on the same slab is a precisely similar brass to *William Aldriche and Agnes his wife*, with nine sons and fifteen daughters, the principal effigies and the sons being now lost. We might infer that the persons thus commemorated on one monument were closely connected; but as we shall presently find the

name of Aldrege among the labouring classes in 1549 (where it exists also to the present day), it is perhaps more probable that they were dependents of the Eyres.

The next monument is partly under the organ, in the south aisle. It commemorates (according to Mr. Haines's Manual of Brasses) *Edmund Eyre, Gent.*, 1563, and his wife and three sons and two daughters, all with effigies; but these are covered: also *Thomas Eyer, Gent.*, of Allerds, 1581, æt. 80, with three wives, of whom the second has four sons and three daughters. The acrostic inscription in ten lines of English verse is given by Mr. Haines, p. 250. As it is now covered, I transcribe it.

T he life I lead, may witness of my death
H ope in my Christ, and faithe hath saved mee
O happye I whilst yet I haled breathe
M ore now yea happye in the best degre
A s first I livde full fourescore yeeres to dye
S o last I dyed to live eternally
E nsue that sample which I have Begone
Y ou that live yet bee fathers to the poore
E nforce your selves to dooe as I have dooune
R emember Jesus allso hath a doore.

Close to this is a plain slab to *Thomas Eyre*, 1606, æt. 67; who married, first, Anne Nudigate, their children being Thomas, Edmund, Elizabeth, and Katherine; and secondly, Mary Dannet, their child being Giles.

A mural tablet in the south aisle records *Edmund Eyre, Esq.*, of Allerds, 1650, æt. 74, who married Margaret, daughter of Richard Symons, Esq., and left as his heir (three sons and three daughters having died) his daughter Margaret, wife of William Adderley, Gent.

In the chancel we find, on a mural monument, *William Eyre*, youngest son of Thomas Eyre of Huntercombe, Esq., 1731, æt. 19. This is evidently a branch of the Eyres of Allerds, the arms being the same, viz., az. a chevron ar. between three ears of corn or.

The last representatives of the family of Eyre are recorded on another mural tablet in the north aisle. It commemorates *Arabella Popple*, 1819, æt. 72, wife of John Popple, Esq., of East Burnham, who dec. 1831, æt. 82. She was daughter of *Charles Eyre, Esq.* of East Burnham, who dec. 1786, æt. 80, "last surviving male of his name

and family which had been lords of the manor of Allerds or East Burnham more than four hundred years."

Another brass inscription, in the south aisle is to *Jacomyne*, daughter of Robert Littell, and wife of *William Tyldsley*, 1556, whose name we shall meet with again on the monuments in the chancel.

Of these it will be convenient to notice first a mural tablet on the north side to *Paule Wentworth, Esq.* son of Sir Nicholas Wentworth, Knt. 1593, æt. 60, and his wife Hellen, daughter of Richard Awnsham and widow of William Tyldsley, Esq., who had four sons, Frances (died young), Paul, Peter, William, and four daughters, Anne, (married Norton Knatchbull, Esq., and buried here), Hellen (married William Day, Esq.), Elizabeth, and Mary: also his mother, Dame Jane, widow of Sir Nicholas Wentworth.

Tyldsley was the first possessor of Burnham Abbey after its dissolution (see above in No. 2 p. 63); after which it passed to Wentworth, perhaps through his marriage with Tyldsley's widow.

The monument of *William Tyldsley, Esq.*, 1563 (whose two wives we have already seen commemorated), lies at the foot of Wentworth's. It is a small brass scroll, relaid in a new stone. Close to it, and also relaid, are two shields. The one bears three cross crosslets between two barrulets with a crescent for difference; imp. a chevron between three lioncels' heads. The second portion of this (apparently repeated on the other shield which has the crescent on the chevron but the lioncels are obliterated) is the arms of Wentworth, as appears from the monument last described.

On the opposite side of the chancel we have the following brass inscription:—

> Knatchbulli conjux Wentworthi septima proles,
> Tempora post vitæ bis duodena suæ,
> Anna immaturo cõmisit membra sepulchro,
> Et quo nupta fuit mense sepulta fuit.

The Wentworth monument enables us to identify this as his daughter; and in the parish register among the burials in 1591, we have the following entry; "Mrs. Ann Knatchbull ye wife of Norton Knatchbull, 19

Octob." It may be added that the shields last described are certainly of earlier date than this brass.

Close by this inscription (and relaid like it in a new stone, is the following couplet :—

Fessus eram Curis, quas vita molesta ferebat,
Optima [cur]arum Mors medicina fuit.

The lettering looks earlier than that of William Tyldsley's inscription, but possibly it may belong to it.

Within the sanctuary rail on the south side is a mural monument with a bust in black gown. On the entablature is a shield bearing : on a chevron between three boars' heads couped as many besants (?). I transcribe the curious inscription, as it can only be read with difficulty.

Johannes Wright hujus Ecclesiæ Pastor pius
probus et pacificus.
Legite qui transitis et attendite.
Noli peccarre nam videt Deus, astant Angeli,
testabitur Conscientia, accusabit Diabolus,
cruciabit Infernus.
Sic vive cum hominibus tanquam Deus videat
sic loquere cum Deo tanquam homines audiant.
Duo Animi [*sic*. Angeli ?] a Deo dati Custodes, pudor et timor.
Qui pudorem amisit Bestiæ par est. qui timorem
excussit bestiæ pejor est.
Dies ultimus salubriter ignoratur ut semper
proximus esse credatur.

Qui Populum vivens cœlesti pane reficit
Nunc canit in Cœlis alleluia Deo.
Illi defuncto poni Monumenta Johannes
Filius hic fecit sumptibus ista suis.

Johannes Filius natu maximus obiit Welliæ in
Comitatu Somerst Decimo Novembris 1617.
Et sepultus est in medio Chori Ecclesiæ
cathedralis ibidem Decimo tertio Mensis
ejusdem.

In the burial register, under the year 1594, we have "Mr. John Wright Vicar of Bornham. 7 Maii." He was the first that kept the registers, beginning with his own induction on All Saints' Day, 1561, and adding "nullū registrū hic invenit." That of the burials is continued to his death, but those of baptisms and marriages end with 1588. He was succeeded in the vicarage by his younger son, Randall Wright, of whom it is

recorded in the register: Nullā Ephemeriden vel imp-fectissimam reliquit. Inductus fuit May 19, 1594." He continued till 1623, when the burial register again commences with: "Mr. Randall Wryght vicar of Bornhā was buried June 16th." Together with this entry we have a record of the induction of John Wryght, eldest son of Randall Wryght, June 19, 1623. He resumes the registration, and keeps it for about nine years, after which there is a break again till 1653.

The Wrights were succeeded in the vicarage by *Edward Hawtrey*, who was ejected under the Commonwealth, and whose gravestone (1669) is probably under the chancel stalls. The only other monument to a vicar is that of *William Glover*, 1707, at the west end of the north aisle.

There is only one other monument of any antiquity. It is opposite Mr. Wright's, and is a fine example of its kind, with busts of the persons commemorated and small figures of their two sons below. The arms are: az. a griffen passant or, on a chief of the second a crescent of the field. Crest, a griffen passant or.

Here under lyeth interred the body of George Evelyn of Hunter-combes in this parish, Esq. the son of Thomas Evelyn of Ditton in y^e^ County of Surry, esq. by Frances Harvy his wife sister to the Lord Harvy. He departed this life on the 7 day of August Anno Dni. 1657. Aged 63.
And also the body of Dudly Evelyn his wife daughter of William Balls of Catlidge in the county of Suffolke, Esq. who dyed the 3^d^ day of Septem. Anno Dni 1661. aged 61.
They left issue surviving at their decease 2 sons, George and Thomas.

Here we may note a curious entry in the Register, under date October 16, 1678, "collected in y^e^ p'ish of Burnham towards y^e^ rebuilding of the Church of St. Paul in Lond." The collection is headed by George Evelyn Esq. 5s. and concluded by Thomas Eyre, Esq. 2s. 6d. There are 29 other subscribers, the amounts varying from 2s. 6d. down to 1d., and the total being £1. 4s. 3d.

I append in conclusion a copy of a very valuable sheet of churchwardens' accounts which is preserved with the Parish Register. It is loose and much mutilated. The "mass boke in Englyshe," named in it, is presumably the first book of Edward. Two entries below it we have the payment of the clerk's wages at Midsummer,

and a few lines above it the similar payment at Lady Day. This fixes the time of year at which the book was bought. Now the first Prayer Book of Edward came into use on Whitsun Day, 1549. Hence that is evidently the year to which this paper belongs.

Charges layde . . .
crosse as he . . .

. . . Jhon Ive for one lowde of tyle . . . . of lyme	vjs.
. . . . . for one qrt' of lyme	xvjd.
. . . . . for tylynge & pargetynge . . . . lymynge ...	xiiijs. viijd.
. . . . . amare for hys stoffe & workmanshype by greyte	vs.
. . . . clarke for crystemes qrt' wagys	ijs. vjd.
It. payd for makynge of oure wrytynge for ye kyngs vysytors & for ye charges of them that was wythe us at burnham	ij.
It. a lowanse for Rytchart Nedam & hys horsse rydynge to london at ij times for to sell s'ten playt longyng to ye cherche	iiijs.
It. payd to ye clarke for hys wagys at oure ladys day	ijs. vjd
It. for oure charges to Wycam be fore the cōmyshonars & for makynge wrytynge	ijs.
It. for the expensis of Rytchart Nedam to Wycam to ye archdecons cowrt	viijd.
It. payd to ye payntare ye xix day May for wrytynge of oure cherche the spase of xix days for hym and hys man at ijs. iiijd. ye day	xliiijs. iiijd.
It. payd for hyrynge of one to reyde unto hym the spase of xv days at iijd. ye day	iijs. ixd.
It. payd for vj bussbells of cowlls for ye pavnte	xijd.
It. payd for iiijth of rede lede for to draw ye arches of ye cherche wythe.....	ixd. (?)
It. payd for the kyngs arms.....	xvjd.
It. payd to the tylars for makynge of ye cherche walls & for brekynge downe sarten awters in ye churche wt othere nesesaryes	. . . s.
It. payd to Jhon Ive for vj lods of lome xij bz of lyme & a lowde of sande.....	iijs. xjd.
It. to Rytchart Nedam for makynge of ij bars of yarne for to howlde uppe the rowde lofte wythe	vs.
It. payd to Rytchart Nedam for nayls to maylle ye skafowlde wythe in ye cherche.....	. . .
It. payd to Rytchart Nedham for iiij xx fowtte of bowrde for to mende ye rowde lofte wt	. . .
It. payd to ye carpentar for makynge of skafolde & mendynge of ye rowde lofte ye spase of v days att viijd. ye day	iijs. iiijd.
It. for Rytchart Nedam for hys labore helpynge ye carpētare ye spase of iiij days at viijd ye day.....	ijs. viijd.
It. payd for caryage of rubbyshe of ye awters...	iiijd.
It. payd to F. Fraunsis for a mass boke in Englyshe & ye boke of the cōmunyon for to sarve ye cherche wythe	xiiijd.
It. payd to Thomas Androwe for iiij c lathe for ye church at vd. ye C.	xxd.
It. payd to ye clarke for mydsomer qrt' wagys	ijs vjd.
It. for oure costes & oure horsses goynge to ye bysshops vysytacion at Wycam	xxd.

It. payd to ye carpenter for makynge of a new awter the spase of ij days att viijd. ye day ..... xvjd.
It. payd for naylls for ye sayme awter ..... iijd.
It. payd for taype & tēterhoks for ye sayd awter..... ijd.
It. payd for bowrd to make ye sayd awter wythe ..... xiiijd.
It. payd to Rytchart Jeyse for makynge of ye sayd awter & for ye stofe of ye sayme ..... viijd.
It. payd for makynge of ij formys to ye sayde awter & for ye stofe of ye sayme ..... xijd.
It. payd to ye plūmars for stofe & workmanshype ..... vs. iiijd.
It. payd to Shrymton for a lowde of sande & v. bz. of lyme..... xv . .
It. payd to Jhon Ive for iiij cc x pavynge tyles for ye H . . . .
It. payd to ye tylars for workmanshyppe of ye sayme
It. payd for caryage owtte of rubryshe owte of ye lytle Ch . .
It. payd to ye clarke for mychylmes qrt' wagys
It. payd to Robart montygeu for one howle yeres rent
It. payd for ij matts for to sve for ye cōmunyone
It. payd for a mase boke whyche is wryttene
It. for oure ij costes & oure ij horsses rydynge to mysseden pere be for ye kyngs recover ..... viijd.
It. for Rytchard Nedam costes & hys horse to myssendon to ye arche . . . . . the vj. day of Novēber ..... xijd.
It. payd to . . Garatt for a quytrent for ye new cherche howsse iiijd.
It. payd to ye clarke for crystemes qrt' wagyse ..... ijs. vjd.
It. for goynge to Wycam to ye Kynge recovers to pay rent ..... viijd.
It. payd for iiij gymas for ye northe dore of ye cherche ..... xijd.

Reparynge of ye hy ways by ye cōsent of ye howle paryshe .....

It. payd to Shrymton for caryage of gravell to ye hy way wt in burnham towne and other places abowte ye towne ye spase of viij days at xvjd. ye day ..... xjs. iiijd.
It. payd to goodwyfe typpet for caryage of gravell to ye sayde hy ways ye spase of v. days att xvjd. ye day .... vjs. viijd.
It. payd to goodwyfe toddo for caryage of gravell to ye sayde hy ways ye spase of ij days at xvjd. ye day ..... ijs. viijd.
It. payd to Whyte for dygynge of gravell ye spase of v days at vd. ye day ..... xxd.
It. payd for ye hyare of one to fyll ye sayde carts of gravell ye spase of ij days at iiijd day ..... viijd.
It. payd to mother coke for getharynge of vj lods of stownes for ye ssyd hy way at jd ye lode ..... vjd.
It. payd to mother awldrege for getharynge of viij lods of stowns for ye sayde . . . . jd. ye lode ..... viijd.
It. payd to Thomas Whytte for getharynge of iij lods of stowns at jd. [ye lo]de ..... iijd.
It. payd to Thomas Whyte for dyggynge of gravell ye spase of ix d iijs. ixd.
It. payd to chylbere for dyggynge of gravell & fyllynge of ye . . xvjd.

[The remainder is on the back of the sheet.]

It. payd to tods wyfe for caryage of gravell ye spase of ij days..... ijs. iiijd.
It. payd to shrymton for caryage of gravell ye spase of vj days ... vjs. viijd.
It. payd to thomas androwe for fyllynge ye carte of gravell for one d . . . . . iiijd.
It. payd to shrymton for caryage of v lods of stowne to ye hy way . . . . . xd.

It. payd to thomas ayer for mendyng & gravelyng of the hy way frome Este burnham bethe to Wynsore.....	xs.
It. payd to Rytchard trotte for mendynge & gravelynge of ye hy way frome Wycam to Wynsore	xs.
It. payd to Shrymton for mendynge & gravelynge of ye hy way frome droppynge well hyll to burnham.....	xxijs.
It. to Jhon Ive for mendynge & gravelyng of ye hy way be tweyne amyll and the Kyngs hy way	xxs.
It. payd for a new byble for oure cherche the x day of novēber ...	xvs.
It. payd for a paraferesis for oure cherche one of ye gospells & also of ye pystles	xxiiijs.
It. payd for ij sawters for oure cherche att ijs ye boke	iiijs.
It. another boke for oure cherche of all manare of sarvyss for ye cherche	vjs. viijd.
It. payd for wrytynge of oure byll to ye cōmyshonars [att bek. . . s fylde].....	ijs. viijd.

The last words, in brackets, have been struck out by the original hand, and the paper is here imperfect; but the place named seems clearly to be *Bekensfylde*.

In line 4, I suppose *greyte* is *agreement*. In line 7 *s'ten* (as *sarten* in line 16) appears to mean *certain*. I cannot interpret *cowlls* in line 13. *Yarne*, line 18, is *iron*. *Maylle*, line 19, is apparently miswritten for *naylle*, or *nail*. The figure in line 20 seems to mean *fourscore*. In line 14 of p. 118, *rubryshe* is miswritten for *rubbyshe*, as above. In line 17, *sve* is abbreviation for *serve*. In line 23 I cannot decipher the Christian name of Garatt; nor can I explain *gymas* three lines below, though it is written clearly in the original. *Chylbere* should apparently be *chyldere*, *children*. In lines 4 and 3 from the end, *paraferesis* is *paraphrase*, and *sawter* is *psalter* (as above, *awter* for *altar*). *Amyll*, two lines above these, is Ay Mill, south of the village.

NOTES ON CALVERTON MANOR, COUNTY BUCKINGHAM.

Dedicated to the Rev. W. PITT TREVELYAN, *Rector of Calverton.*

BY DUDLEY GEORGE CARY ELWES, ESQ., F.S.A.

PREFACE:—My official connection with part of the parish of Calverton, as agent to the estate appertaining to the Earl of Egmont therein, has led me to collect notes concerning it, which I now publish in the hope that they will not prove altogether uninteresting to the general reader, and that they may be the means of inducing others, who have time and opportunities, to direct their attention to the particular parish with which they may happen to be connected. In this way some progress might be made towards a more or less accurate history of the Manors of England, a very much to be desired result. Moreover, this short account of the Manor of Calverton proves how very unexpectedly interesting many of these histories might be, for, when I commenced making notes, I had no idea that the Manor would turn out to have been, at one time, a royal one, and for centuries to have belonged to one of the most powerful and historic families in England.

I should be glad to receive any further details which may have escaped my own notice and come within the knowledge of others, and must beg my readers to pardon any shortcomings, in what does not profess to be anything more than a compilation of notes.

CALVERTON MANOR, COUNTY BUCKINGHAM.

This manor, in ancient days, was part of the Barony of Bolebec of Buckinghamshire. The first of the family, which took its name from the Barony, was Hugo de Bolebec, who, according to the Doomsday Book, was possessed of lands in counties, Buckingham, Oxford, and Huntingdon.* He was succeeded by his son and heir of the same name, who in 1145 was living, and apparently died without issue, as he was succeeded by his brother

* Lipscombe's Bucks.

The Right Honourable and truly Generous Robert Veere Earle of Oxford, Lo Bulbeck, Sandford and Scales: being the 23th Earle of that Noble Famely since the Conquest. He was slayne at the seidge of Mastrict, Anno 1632 and left issue two sons.

from a rare Print in the Collection of James Bindley Esqr

Published as the Act directs. Jan 1st 1794 by W. Richardson Castle Street Leicester Square

Walter de Bolebec, who died before 1185, without issue male, leaving a daughter Isabel, wife of Robert de Vere, 3rd Earl of Oxford, whose descendants assumed, amongst their other titles, that of Bolebec. Although the main line seems to have terminated in this way, there were others of the name of Bolebec possessed of lands in county Buckingham, as may be seen by Inq. post mortem of Gilbert de Bolebek, 31 Hen. III., No. 1; Herbert de Bolebek, 52 Hen. III., No. 10; and Henry de Bolebek, 32 Edw. I., No. 124. These all relate to the Manor of Kings-eye, now Kingsey, a parish situated on the borders of Oxfordshire, not very far from Aylesbury where the Inquisitions were held. However, this is a digression from Calverton, and is only made in order to correct the possible impression that the last of the Bolebek family was Isabel, the wife of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. I have not found any earlier mention of the great family of Vere in connection with County Buckingham, than Inq. p. m., 48 Hen. III., No. 26, on Hugh de Vere, Earl of Oxford. This was the son and heir of the above Robert de Vere,* and the fifth Earl of Oxford. It refers to Whitchurch Manor, in the county of Buckingham, but does not mention Calverton. His heir was found to be Robert de Vere, 23½ years of age. Hugh held Whitchurch of the heirs of the Marshall of the Honour of Gyffard; this place, according to Lysons, first belonged to the Giffards, Earls of Buckingham, and afterwards to the Bolebecs,† one of whom, Hugh Bolebec, built a castle there, "*of which the site is plainly discernible, close to the village on the left hand as you pass from Aylesbury to Buckingham,*" it is situated about five miles from Aylesbury, on the road to Buckingham. The next notice I find of the Veres in connection with Buckinghamshire is in Inq. p. m., Edw. III., 2nd Nos. 67, on Robert de Veer, Earl of Oxford. The writ to the Sheriff of Bucks is dated at Kenilworth, 26 November, 1329, and runs as follows:—

* Robert de Vere, third Earl of Oxford, who married Isabel de Bolebec, was one of the celebrated twenty-five barons appointed to enforce the observance of MAGNA CARTA. He died in 1221, and was, as his ancestors had been before him, Great Chamberlain of England.

† Lysons' Bucks., p. 665.

"Robert de Veer, Earl of Oxford, and his ancestors, have been accustomed to receive the third penny of the profits of the County of Oxford, and the same Earl (in lieu of said third penny, which the Sheriff of the said county receives in the King's name and accounts for in the Exchequer) receives twenty marks at the Exchequer. The Earl now prays the King to grant him in his towns of Chesham and CALVERTON, in Co. Buckingham, view of frank pledge, as well of his own tenants as of the tenants of others, and all other profits which the Sheriff of that County yearly receives from the said towns, viz., . . etc., . . . etc., . . to hold to him (the Earl) and his heirs for ever."

Sheriff to inquire whether it would be to the King's damage.

*Inq. taken at Chesham on Wednesday the Feast of Saint Nicholas.** The jurors found that it is not to the King's damage if he grant the above. The value of view in said towns worth yearly twenty-one shillings. The town of CALVERTON is worth yearly, in all issues, twenty pounds, and the town of Chesham twenty marks. Total usually received by Sheriff yearly is valued at six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence (ten marks). The said Earl holds of the King in chief, as a member of the Earldom of Oxford.

Amongst the Charter Rolls is one in 3 *Edw. III.*, *m.* 8, granting *view of Frank pledge* and *other liberties*, to Robert Veer, Earl of Oxford, in Chesham and CALVERTON, and another one dated 4 *Edw. III.*, *m.* 37, granting him *free warren* in the same towns.

The next notice I find is in *Inq. p. m.*, 34 *Edw. III.*, 1*st Nos.* 84, on John de Veer, Earl of Oxford, deceased. The Writ is dated 28 *Jan.*, 1360. *The Inquisition was taken at Wendover, Co. Buckingham, 4 March*, 1360, and states that *John de Veer* held no lands of the King in chief, for that by charter dated 10 June, 24 Edw. III. [1350], with the King's licence, he granted the manor of Chesham to *Thomas de Veer*, his son, and *Matilda*, daughter of *Ralph de Ufford*, to hold to Thomas and Matilda and their heirs male. He also granted the manor of CALVERTON, which is worth

* Dec. 6, 1329.

yearly twenty pounds and is held of the King in chief by Knight's service, and the manor of Aston which is worth ten pounds, and is held of Lord le Fitzwater by Knight's service, to John de Sutton, Knight, senior, and others, by charter dated 3 Oct., 33 Edw. III. [1359], without the King's licence. The said Earl died 23 Jan. last past, Thomas de Veer is next heir, and of full age. With reference to the last grant, Inq. p. m., or as it really is, *ad quod damnum*, 34 Edw. III., 2nd Nos. 7, held at Buckingham, Monday after St. Gregory (probably 16 March, 1360), states that it is not to the King's damage if he grant to John de Sutton, Knight, senior, and John de Pelham, parson of the Church of Wikham (query Wicken), and others, that they may retain the manor of CALVERTON, which they acquired without licence from John Veer, late Earl of Oxford, who held it of the King in chief, for that the said John de Sutton held nothing formerly of the King in chief. The manor of Calverton is held of the King by Knight's service, and is worth yearly thirteen pounds.

I omitted to mention that in an Inq. p. m., 27 Edw. III., 1st Nos. 50, on Thomas de Ferrars, deceased, held at Stony Stratford, on Saturday. The Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 Sept? 1353), it is stated that he held no lands of the King in chief, but that he held to him and his assigns the manor of CALVERTON for the term of ten years by demise of *John* de Veer, Earl of Oxford, at the yearly rent of forty pounds, and it is worth yearly forty pounds. He died on Tuesday before St. Peter ad Vincula (30 July, 1353), and William de Ferrars, Knight, is his kinsman and heir, and of full age. On a slip of parchment attached to this inquisition, it is stated that *Thomas* de Veer is the lessor, and that four years of the term is elapsed, and that the manor is held of the King in chief by homage and fealty — his goods are set out — two cart-horses, etc., etc., and that thirty of his sheep were sold by Gilbert Crosseby, Feodar of Edward Prince of Wales, by virtue of a mandate of the said Prince.

Though this John de Vere appears to have tried to get rid of this manor, his widow, Matilda, from an Inq. p. m. 40 Edw. III., 1st Nos. 8, was possessed of it during her life, and it is mentioned again in the Inq. p. m., 45

Edw. III., 1st Nos. 45, on his son Thomas de Veer, Earl of Oxford, or rather the advowson of the church is with that of Whitchurch and the manor of Chesham and Coveley, parcel of the Barony de Bolebec, the manor and lands from this time, with one exception* were in the hands of the de Vere family, until John de Vere, the twelfth Earl of Oxford, was in 1461 beheaded together with his eldest son, Alberic de Vere, on Tower Hill, for being faithful friends to the house of Lancaster. His son and successor, John de Vere, the thirteenth Earl of Oxford, obtained, in 1464, a restoration to the original Earldom of Oxford. He was, however, himself, in 1457, attainted, when his dignities became forfeited as well as his estates, and this manor became vested in the Crown, and was granted by Edw. IV. to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., which may possibly account for the fact that his nephews, subsequently murdered by him in the Tower, were, when on their way to London shortly before, housed for some time at Stony Stratford, the house in which they resided being still in existence, and in the occupation of Mr. Frederick Aveline. The following Inq. ad Inquirendum, which I give in full, throws light on various places in the neighbourhood.

INQ : POST MORTEM,
22 Edward IV., No. 57.

Writ to the Escheator of the County of Buckingham, 23rd October, 22 Edw. IV.

Inquisition taken at Stony Stratford, in the County of Buckingham, on Monday next after the feast of All Saints, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth after the conquest. Before John Pusey, Escheator of the said Lord the King, in the

* The exception mentioned in the text was during Hen. VI., the Reign when the Caldecote family seem to have been possessed of some of the lands. Inqs. p. m., 5 Hen. VI., No. 16, and 18 Hen. VI., 22, both mention Thomas Caldecote as having lands in Calverton. I do not understand why this should have been as it was during the Earldom of John de Vere, 1417 to 1461, who was a sincere friend to the Lancastrians, and lost his life on that account, on the accession of Edw. IV. to the throne.

County of Buckingham, by virtue of a writ of the Lord the King, to the same Escheator directed, and to this Inquisition sewed. By the oath of John Muscote, Henry Tuk, Thomas Hawkyns, John Cok, William Cok, John Smyth of Wulverton, Thomas Smyth of the same, John Castell, Thomas Beamys, Richard Missenden, Thomas Yous, and John Kelynge, Who say, upon their oath, "that it is not to the damage or prejudice of the said Lord the King, or of others if the same Lord the King grant to the Wardens of the Fraternity or Guild of the Blessed Mary and Saint Thomas the Martyr, in Stony Stratford, and to the Brethren and Sisters of the same Fraternity or Guild, that they may acquire from John Edy, Esquire, John Hayle, and Thomas Rokys, one messuage, one cottage, and one acre of land with appurtenances, in Stonystratford aforesaid, in the parish of Calverton, four cottages with appurtenances in the said vill of Stonystratford, late of Henry Shrove, one messuage, one garden, four shops, and one croft in the said vill of Stonystratford, late of John Smyth, ten acres of land and a half, with appurtenances in the said vill of Stonystratford, and Wulverton, late of John Jekeman and Robert Power, one messuage and one garden, late of the aforesaid Henry, in Stonystratford aforesaid, and twelve shillings of rent in Calverton and Stonystratford aforesaid, late of Henry Tuk, John Brown, Thomas Pesonest, and Thomas Hawes. And three shillings and fourpence of rent in Stonystratford aforesaid, late of Richard Lawe. And also three shillings fivepence and one half-penny of rent in Stonystratford aforesaid, late of Thomas Fowler, Robert Pygot, and John Hayle, Junior. And forty and six shillings and eightpence of rent in Calverton, Stonystratford, and Wulverton aforesaid, late of Thomas Edy, Esquire, William Andrewe, clerk, John Hykelyng, Thomas Fowler, Esquire, George Longvyle, Esquire, Thomas Fortho, Esquire, Robert Grete, John Cok, William Derant, Thomas Whityng, and John Hayle, Junior." Also the Jurors aforesaid say "that the aforesaid messuage, cottage, and one acre of land with appurtenances, in Stonystratford, in the parish of Calverton, and also the aforesaid four cottages with appurtenances, in the said vill of Stonystratford, late of Henry Shrove, and one messuage, one garden, and four shops

aforesaid, in the said vill of Stonystratford, late of John Smyth, are held of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, as of his Manor of Calverton, in the County aforesaid, by fealty and suit of Court, of the same Duke, at the Manor aforesaid, twice by the year. And the same messuages, cottages, shops, gardens and lands, are worth by the year, in all issues, sixty and eight shillings. And the aforesaid Duke holds the aforesaid messuages, cottages, shops, gardens, lands, and rents of the said Lord the King." And moreover the Jurors aforesaid say "that the aforesaid croft, in the said vill of Stonystratford, late of John Smyth, is held of the Prior of Saint John of Jerusalem in England, by fealty and a rent of eight pence by the year. And it is worth by the year, in all issues, two shillings and fourpence, and the aforesaid Prior holds the same croft of the same Lord the King" Moreover, the Jurors aforesaid, say "that the aforesaid ten acres of land and a half, with appurtenances, in the said vill of Stonystratford and Wulverton, late of John Jekeman and Robert Power are held of George Longvyle, Esquire, by fealty and suit of Court, of the same George at his Manor of Wulverton, in the county aforesaid, and they are worth by the year in all issues, four shillings. And the same George holds the aforesaid ten acres and a half of land of the said Lord the King." Moreover, the Jurors aforesaid say "that the aforesaid messuage and garden, late of the aforesaid Henry, in Stonystratford aforesaid, are held of the Prior of Bradwell, by a rent of twelve pence by the year, and they are worth by the year, in all issues, six shillings, and the same Prior holds the same messuages and gardens of the said Lord the King. All and singular which same messuages, cottages, gardens, shops, crofts, lands, and rents above specified, are extended by the year in all issues, according to the true value of the same, at seven pounds, five shillings, nine pence, and one halfpenny." And also the same Jurors say "that twenty and five messuages, and five hundred and sixteen acres of land, still remain to the same John Edy, John Hayle, and Thomas Rokys, besides the acquisitions aforesaid in Stonystratford, Calverton, and Wulverton aforesaid, whereof ten messuages and two hundred acres of land in Stonystratford, and four messuages and eighty acres of land in Calverton, are held of the aforesaid Duke, by fealty and suit of Court

of the same Duke, at his Manor aforesaid, twice by the year. And eight messuages and 180 acres of land in Wulverton are held of the same George Longvyle by fealty only, And three messuages, and 56 acres of land in Wulverton are held of the same George Longvyle by fealty and suit of his Court, aforesaid, twice by the year. And the aforesaid 25 messuages, and 516 acres of land are worth by the year, in all issues, twenty marks. And the same lands and tenements so remaining to the same John Edy, John Hayle, and Thomas Rokys, are sufficient to do all the customs and services, due as well from the aforesaid messuages, cottages, gardens, shops, crofts, lands, and rents, acquired as it is aforesaid, as from the other lands and tenements retained by them, and to sustain all other charges arising, specified in the writ aforesaid. And that the same John Edy, John Hayle, and Thomas Rokys, are able to be put in assizes, juries, and other acknowledgments whatsoever, as they used to be put before the acquisitions aforesaid, so that the country, by the acquisitions aforesaid, in default of the same John Edy, John Hayle, and Thomas Rokys, will not be charged or burdened more than usual." In witness whereof, to this Inquisition, as well the aforesaid Escheator as the Jurors aforesaid, have affixed their seals. Given the day, year and place abovesaid.

On the accession of Hen. VII. to the throne of England, John de Vere, who was attainted in 1475, was restored to all his honours and possessions, and obtained a confirmation of the office of Great Chamberlain in 1509, which all his ancestors had held, he was Lord High Admiral, K.G., etc., and died in 1514 s.p., when he was succeeded by his nephew, John de Vere, son and heir of his next brother Sir George Vere. This John, the 14th Earl of Oxford, died in 1526 s.p.; he was succeeded in the title by his cousin, John de Vere, the 15th Earl of Oxford, but the heirs to his property were John Nevill, eldest son of his sister Dorothy, Lady Latimer, and his surviving sisters, Dame Elizabeth Wingfield and Dame Ursula Knightley, whose husband Sir Edmund Knightley, is said to have claimed the Earldom without success. This manor, with that of Stony Stratford, fell to the share of John Neville, Lord Latimer, mentioned above,

who married Lucy, daughter of Henry, Earl of Worcester, and died in 1577, leaving only four daughters and co-heirs, the eldest of whom, Catherine, married Henry Percy, 8th Earl of Northumberland, who by this marriage became possessed of the manor of Calverton. A little before this in a Patent Roll, *dated* 6 *Elizabeth*, pt. 3, 18 *July* [1564], is a grant to Francis Knolles, Knt., and Lady Katherine, his wife, and their heirs male, of lands, rents, etc., lately belonging to the Preceptory of Sampford in Calverton and Stony Stratford. About this date also is a Chancery Decree relating to this Manor. Chancery Decrees Elizabeth Pt. 15. John, Lord Latimer, v. Elizabeth Nanton, widow of William Nanton, Esq. The bill says that John Veer, sometime Earl of Oxford, was seized of various manors, including Stratford [elsewhere called *East* Stratford] and Calverton, County Buckingham, which were assured to Lady Ann, Countess of Oxford, his wife, for term of her life. John died s.p. and the premises ought to descend to Elizabeth Wingefield, late wife of Sir Anthony Wingefield, Dorothy, mother of the Plaintiff, and Ursula, wife to Sir Edmund Knightley, as sisters and heirs of said Earl, the premises were assured by Act of Parliament, 23 Hen. VIII. [1531-2], to the said three sisters, and their husbands, with a proviso that none of the said sisters, nor their heirs, should alienate or sell any of the premises, except for jointures, or for the declaration of any of their wills, for the term of twenty years, by reason whereof the said Dame Ursula, after decease of her husband, might have levied a fine or done any act according to land, as a tenant in tail, but the Plaintiff alleged that she had not any authority as a tenant in fee-simple to declare her will for twenty years, after that she died, seized of her property, s.p., and on her death, her third part descended to the Plaintiff, and Sir Robert Wingefield, as cousins and next heirs. The Plaintiff declared that the said Elizabeth Nanton, by colour of a surmised Will of the said Dame Ursula, claimed to have the purparty of said Dame Ursula for twenty years, and entered into the third part of the premises, and had possession of various ancient deeds, etc. The Defendant answers, denying most of the above allegations, and says that Ursula died about the Feast of the Epiphany, 1st year of Queen Elizabeth [1559].

Elizabeth Nanton was executrix of the said Dame Ursula, and received the profits of the premises.

Plaintiff replies, and Defendant rejoins.

The judgment was that the issue turned upon the words of the Statute, and was referred to the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who considered that the Defendant should occupy the premises until the Plaintiff should recover the same by order of the common law, it is therefore decreed this day, 30 May, 7 Elizabeth [1565], by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, accordingly.

Just twenty years later, in a Patent Roll, 28 Elizabeth, pt. 4 [1585-6], is a grant of the manor of Calverton, *alias* Calveston, with Stony Stratford, and the advowson of the church to the Countess of Northumberland, Francis Fytton, and others. This was about the date of the death of the Countess's husband, Henry, 8th Earl of Northumberland, viz., 21st June, 1585, who was found dead in his bed in the Tower—where he was imprisoned on suspicion of plotting to set the Queen of Scots at liberty—shot with three bullets, his chamber door being barred on the inside.*

In a Patent Roll of 33 Elizabeth, pt. 9 [1590-91], is a grant of a parcel of meadow called Squires Mead, containing one-and-a-half acres, and a close called Buttclose, containing one acre, in the parish of Calverton. A messuage called the White Horse, in Stony Stratford, and twelve acres of land in pasture in the parish of Wolverton, parcell of the lands of the Fraternity of St. Mary in Stony Stratford to Welles and Wytham.

In another Patent Roll, 20 Jac. I., 3rd Part, 11 Nov. [1622], is a grant to Richard Budd and others, of lands in Calverton and Stony Stratford, belonging to the Preceptory of Sampford, and another, 21 Jac. I., part 26, 22 Nov. [1623], to Paul Carill and others, of lands, etc., in Calverton and Stony Stratford, belonging to the Preceptory of Sampford.

In another Patent, dated 22 Car. II., part 2, m. 2 [1670–71], is a grant of Fee-farm rents to Trustees, Lord Francis Hawley and others, a rent of £3 6s. 8d. for view of Frank-pledge of the towns of Chesham and Calverton,

* Bank's Extinct and Dormant Peerage, Vol. ii., p. 427.

in Co. Buckingham, paid by Robert de Vere, then Earl of Oxford, and his heirs.

The *manor* of Calverton remained in the family of Percy, Earls of Northumberland, until A.D. 1616, when Henry Percy, the 9th Earl, sold it to Sir Thomas Bennet, knight, citizen of London, and Lord Mayor in 1603, and of Beachampton, Co. Bucks; his son Simon was, on 17th July, 1627, created a baronet, and dying s. p. about 1631, the baronetcy became extinct; but his estates passed to his nephew, Simon, son of his brother, Richard Bennet, who died in 1682, his three daughters: i. Elizabeth, married to Edward Osborne, Lord Latimer; ii. Grace, to John Bennet, Esq., of Abington, in Cambridgeshire; and iii. Frances, to James Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. The eldest daughter died on 1st May, 1680, v. p., having had by her husband two children, who both died young, and her husband died in January, 1688, in the lifetime of his father, the Duke of Leeds; and Grace dying without issue also, the manor became vested in the Earl of Salisbury, descendant of Frances, the third and youngest daughter.

Extracts from Churchwardens' Accounts of Calverton Parish.

The collection of y^e^ Parish of Calverton, in y^e^ County of Bucks, tow y^e^ rebuilding of y^e^ Cathedrall Church of S^t^. Paules in London, Aprill, 1679:—

	Li.	s.	d.
Symon Bennet, Esq.	02	—	—
Mr. Carpender, Minister	01	—	—
Meadfflower Nicholas	00	00	04
In all	£ 3	04	8

Mrs. Grace Bennet (this must have been the second dau. wife of Mr. John Bennet of Abingdon) gave six pounds to the Poor, w^ch^ was distributed in the open church after evening service, on Sunday, the 16th day of January, 1714. She likewise gave five pounds seven sh. sixpence towards pewing y^e^ church, w^ch^ was accordingly laid out, 1718.

She gave a new pulpit, Sounding-Board or Canopy, a crimson-velvet cushion, and fitted up the Reading-Desk in June, 1721.

She continues above charity in 1726.

Anno Dni. 1714, James, Earl of Salisbury, and Mrs. Grace Bennet Lord and Lady of y^e^ mannor of Calverton, gave ten pounds a peice towards y^e^ repair of y^e^ church, wh^ch^ bounty the Parishioners do here record to after Ages in gratefull manner.

David Read, Edward Clarke, } Churchwardens. | J. Taylour, Rector; and other Parishioners' names follow.

Mrs. Grace Bennet, the widow of the last Simon Bennet, appears to have lived in the Manor House at Calverton, now in the possession of Lord Carington, and occupation of Mr. Robert Read, who farms the Manor Farm, and in 1694 to have been cruelly murdered there by a butcher of Stony Stratford, for which crime he was executed. She is described as being "a miserable, covetous, and wretched woman," and was supposed to have a great store of money by her which tempted the butcher.*

This Mrs. Grace Bennet may have been, as Mr. Lipscombe says, a "miserable and covetous woman;" but at the same time we must give her the benefit of a doubt, as we find from the churchwardens' accounts the following notes concerning her:—

(1) A collection for the fire in Wapping, April 6th, 1684—

Mrs. Grace Bennet, widow	00 : 05 : 00
Mr. Carpender, minister	00 : 05 : 00

(2) A collection in the parish of Calverton, upon the Brief for the poor French Protestants, May 25th, 1686—

	Li.	s.	d.	
Madam Bennet	03	04	06	
Mr. Carpender, Minister	02	00	00	
Total collected in parish				06 : 02 : 08

(3) Again, on 23rd Jan., 1686. A collection for the fire in White Chappell—

	s.	d.	
Madam Bennet.....	04	00	
Countess of Salisbury	10	00	
Lady Marg. Cecill	05	00	
Mr. Carpender.....	02	06	
Total.....			01 : 10 : 8

(4) However, on June 23rd, 1689, is a collection of the Briefe for the persecuted Irish Protestants in the Parish of Calverton, in which she appears to have commenced being stingy, as it is headed—

Madam Bennet, w^th^ all her wealth, nothing.
Mr. Carpender's family, thirty-five shillings.
For all, forty-two shillings and sixpence.

Before this date are some other collections where Mr. Bennet's name occurs.

One for the Rdempcon of the Poor Captives in Algiers, Oct., 1680.

Symon Bennet, Esq.	01 : 00 : 00
Mr. Carpender	00 : 10 : 00
Total.....	02 : 02 : 00

* Lipscombe's "Hist. of Bucks."

Again another, for the Poor French Protestants, March 168½ : —

Symon Bennet, Esq.	02	: 00	: 00
Mr. Carpender	01	: 00	: 00
Mr Rooker	00	: 02	: 00
Meadflower Nicholas	00	: 00	: 04
Total	03	: 08	: 00

The following entry, dated April, 16th, 1699, is curious, and none of the Bennet family appear in it; so we may conclude that none of them resided in the parish at that particular date :—

A collection in the Parish of Calverton, April 16th, 1699, for the poor Vaudois, being between 11 and 12,000 driven into banishment by Popish Caucery [Query, sorcery?] and Superstition.

Mr. Carpender, Minister	01	: 00	: 00
his 2 servants, Francis Dobbs and Edw. Martin, 6d. apiece	00	: 01	: 00
In all	01	: 19	: 04

Another collection took place in 1715, for the Cowkeepers of Middlesex—loss L 24939 : 14s : 0d.—when only 3s. was collected.

The manor of Calverton was purchased of the then 19th Earl and 1st Marquis of Salisbury, in 1806, by William Lowndes, Esq.; but the estate was transferred from the Marquis to Robert John, Lord Carington, the Earl of Egmont, and Mr. Oliver, of Stony Stratford, by purchase.

The parish was inclosed in 1782, and an allotment of land was assigned in lieu of tithes.

Mr. Selby Lowndes, of Whaddon, is the present lord of the manor, and Lord Carington and the Earl of Egmont are the principal landowners.

NOTES FROM THE REGISTERS OF CALVERTON PARISH, CO. BUCKS.

I think it well, whilst treating of the manor, to add some notes from the registers of the parish, which, I trust, will prove of interest to those who read this paper, and I begin with extracts which appear to relate to the various rectors of the parish and their families, and to any name which is uncommon. The first rector I have found as having been buried in the parish is Mr. John Mansell, and the entries of the name are as follows :—

1613. Ralph Mansell, buried 18 Sept^r.
1629. Emmery, the wife, and Emmery, the dau., of Mr. John Mansell bur^d. 5 April.
1640. Mr. John Mansell, rector, buried 19 Oct^r.

The next name is Knight, though we may consider the two first entries as not connected with the rector's family from their early date.

1608. Richard, the sonne of John Knight, was buried the V of November.
1620. Dorothy, dau. of John Knight, buried 4 Sept.
1654. Woodward, son of Mr. John Knight, and Isabel, his wife, born 30 September.
1655. Richard, son of Mr. John Knight, and Isabel, his wife, born 20 Dec.
165$\frac{7}{4}$. Mary and Martha, twins, daughters of Mr. John Knight and Isabel, his wife, born 27 Feb., baptized 4 March.
165$\frac{7}{8}$. Mary, daughter of Mr. John Knight and Isabel, his wife, buried 22 March.
165$\frac{8}{9}$. Sarah, dau. . . . . born 8th, baptized 15 March.
1661. John Knight, rector, buried 11 August.
1709. Mr. William Knight, of the parish of St. Mary Staynings, in the city of London, buried 5 April.

The above are curious in one way, as the two first baptisms are only recorded as they generally were during the Commonwealth, as births, but we find in the next one the baptism mentioned. I have no doubt but that Mr. William Knight was a son of the rector, though there is no proof of it, and it is possible that he might be the Woodward born in 1654.

The next rector's name was Carpender, and he appears to have been so for a very long period.

1662. Thomas, son of William Carpender, rector, and Jane, his wife baptized . . . . . 27 July.
1666. Elizabeth, dau. of . . . . . 13 March.
1666. Jane, wife of William Carpender, rector, buried 2 April.
1669. Judith, dau. of . . and Judith, his wife, baptized 14 Oct.
1669. . . . . buried 18 Oct.
167$\frac{9}{0}$. John, son of . . . . . bap. 14 Feb.
167$\frac{1}{2}$. Mary, dau. of . . . . . 12 March.
1673. Judith, dau. of . . . . . 9 Oct.
167$\frac{4}{5}$. Anne, dau. of . . . . . 19 Jan.
1677. Phillip, dau. of . . . . . 16 Oct.
1717. . . . . from Passenham, buried 27 Aug.
167$\frac{8}{7}$. Charles, son of . . . . . baptized 19 March.
172$\frac{4}{3}$. . . . from Newport Pagnell, buried 17 Jan., aged 43.
1682. Francis, son of William Carpender and Judith, his wife, baptized. . . . . 11 May.
168$\frac{7}{6}$. . . . . buried 18 Feb.
168$\frac{8}{8}$. Antony Chapman and Mary Carpender, mar., 29 Jan., by a licence.
1692. Rebekah, dau. of the above Antony and Mary, baptized 22 April.
1693. Roger, son of . . . . . 4 May.
1694. Antony . . . . . 19 May.
169$\frac{8}{9}$. William . . . . . 7 Feb.
17$\frac{1}{12}$. Mr. William Carpender, rector . . buried 2 Feb.
1716. Mrs. Judith Carpender, widow . . buried 7 May.

Thus Mr. Carpender appears to have been rector from the end of 1661 to the commencement of 1712, a period of fifty-one years, or thereabouts.

The entries in these registers of the Bennet family, the owners of the property, are not numerous, and the first of the following may possibly not refer to it at all.

1636. Robert Bennet and Mary Grace were married April 25.
1664. Grace, ye daughter of Symon Bennet, Esq., and Grace, his wife, was baptized . . . . . 20th Oct.
1666. Mary, ye daughter . . . . . 26 May.
1668. Symon, the sonne of . . . . . 13 June.

It is a curious coincidence that the name Grace should be so interwoven with the family afterwards, if Robert Bennet and Mary Grace do not belong to the same family, and there is no proof that they do so.

The Penn family appear to have had something to do with this part of the world; there is a deed still in existence I believe, dated 30th March, 1689, between John Penn, of Calverton, Co. Bucks, and Sylvester Penn, of the same place, and Katherine Webb, of Cosgrave, Co. Northampton, of lands there, with fine signature and seal of John Penn; and another dated 23 June, 1692, between the same and Robert Webb and Isabele, his wife, as to some lands and tenements in Old Stratford. I have only noted, however, one entry of the name in the registers, though, of course, there may be more, as I was not searching particularly for that name.

1665. Elizabeth, y^e^ daughter of Francis Penne and Grace, his wife, was baptized y^e^ 4th day of October.

The names of Greathead and Watkins are very common in the earlier registers which commence in the year 1559. The following entries appear to belong to families of uncommon names or origin:—

1613. Willm. Bacon and Ann Cockayne were married the 17th of Aprill.
1584. Thomas Wilkes was buried the xiith daye of Julye.
1588. Cecillie Wilkes was buried the xiith of Julye.
1586. Katherine Pygot buried the vii. March. [158$\frac{6}{7}$].
1579. George Thornton buried 6th Feb. [157$\frac{8}{9}$].
1627. Deliverance Pickcot and Sobriety Alexander were married ye 8 July

The above two names are, I think, the most curious ones I have ever found in conjunction. It would seem almost as if they were entered by way of a joke. However, there they are in sober earnest.

1629. Mr. Rodger [? Lea] and Mrs. Anne Berry were married December y^e^ 31st.

1629. John Lea and Mary Joudaine were married November y^e^ 4th.
1607. William Mathew, Esq., was buried ye fifth of March. [160$\frac{7}{8}$].
1629. Mrs. Dorothie Pledwell, the wife of Mr. Richard Pledwell, was buried the xxxth day of May.
1674. An unhappy passenger called Gabriel Megley, dying upon the roade, was buried the 14th of April.
1680. John Hamond, of Deushanger, who lost his life by a fall from a cart of Symon Bennet, Esq., was buried the 26th August.
1686. Judith, the wife of Mr. Thomas Aylwey, was buried the sixth of October.
1689. Thomas Aylwey, gent., was buried the first of October.
1692. A poor foot soldier, sent by a passe and dying at the Constables, was buried the fourteenth of December.

The above entry points to the fact that soldiers travelling from quarter to quarter were billeted at the constables of the different parishes; it is curious that his name is not given.

1695. Mary, the daughter of Thomas Willis, Esq., and Alice, his wife, was buried the seaventh of June.

I think this was probably some relation of Browne Willis, the historian.

1695. William Horson, a poor traveller, buried 15 August.

About this date is a page told off for the entries of unbaptized adults and children—of the former there is only one entry, of the latter only three.

1678. Widow Cox was buried the eighteenth of May.
1698. Wm. Seurch (?) and Elizabeth, his wife, had a daughter borne upon the 29th June, whereof they gave timely notice within 5 dayes to the Ministers and Collectors, and that she was named Sarah.
1699. Richard Barwick and Rose, his wife, had a daughter, etc., as above, born 20 May, and that she was named Hannah.
1700. Wm. Seurch and Elizabeth had a son, as above, born 17th Dec., and his name is Nathaniel.

I suppose we may consider that the above were Nonconformists.

1708. William, the son of Thomas Henshaw and Elizabeth, his wife, was buried the thirtieth of July.
1710. Thomas Buttefont, buried the seventeenth of Aprill.
1710-1. Sylvester Clark found dead in the fielde, was buried the thirteenth of February.
1721. Elizabeth Henshaw, an infant, was bury'd Decemb. 9th, aged nine years.
Mem.—This seventh day of October, 1724, I marry'd William Daniel, of Whaddon, and Alice Fowler, of Calverton, (banns being duly published), at Tattenho Chapel, where there was no register.

This is a note by Mr. John Taylour, the then rector of Calverton, though it is not signed by him.

1726. William Weedon Ford, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, London, was bury'd September 23, aged 62.
1727. John Taylour, A.M., rector of this parish, and prebendary of the cathedral churches of Exeter, Landaff, and Wells, was bury'd September the 21st, aged 63.
1731. Thomas Turpin, of St. Leonards, Shoreditch, London, and Mary Hutchings, of Calverton, were married by licence, June 22.
1740. Mr. Richard Barwell, jun., bur. May 3.
1749. Mary Henshaw, bur. June 2.
1743. Thomas Hencher, (?) Henshaw, was bur. March 27.
1750. Thomas Newcome and Eleanor Ashley, both of Stony Stratford, were married by licence from *my eyles* of Bradwell, Jan. 16.

The above entry is quite beyond my comprehension. Bradwell is a neighbouring parish; but there is no connection, nor ever has been that I am aware of, between it and Calverton. At the end of this Register Book, which finishes in 1723, are the following notes, made by the rector, Mr. John Taylour:—

Anno Dni. 1713. Mrs. Grace Bennet, who has one moiety of the manor of Calverton, gave six pounds to y^e^ poor.
Anno Dni. 1714. James, Earl of Salisbury, and Mrs. Grace Bennet, Lord and Lady of y^e^ mannor of Calverton, gave ten pounds apeice toward y^e^ repair of y^e^ church, w^ch^ bounty the Parishioners here record to after Ages in grateful manner.—T. Taylour, Rector, with several of the parishioners' names annexed.
Mrs. Grace Bennet gave six pounds to the Poor, w^ch^ was distributed in the open church, after evening service, on Sunday, the 16th day of January, 1714 ? [171⅘.]
She continues y^e^ same yearly to this Easter Day, March 29th, 1719, when it was distributed in open church. She likewise gave five pounds seven sh. sixpence towards pewing y^e^ church, which was accordingly laid out, 1718.
She continues the same six pounds, w^ch^ was distributed on Whit-Sunday, 1720.
Ditto, 1721.
She gave a new pulpit, Sounding-Board or Canopy, a crimson-velvet cushion, and fitted up the Reading-Desk, in June, 1721.
She continues y^e^ same benefaction of six pounds, 1723, and again in 1726. After which date her name does not appear; and it may be presumed that after this time she removed from Calverton to London, where in 1732 she died. (*See Pedigree.*)

At the end of the Register Book, terminating in 1696, are numerous entries of Briefs, etc., collected by Mr. Carpender, the then rector, which seem to have been very frequent. I give a few of them, just to show how very general the custom appears to have been.

For building Cathedral Church of St. Paul, April, 1679.—Symon Bennet, Esq., £2, Mr. Carpender, minister, £1; Mr. Rookes, 1s., with others; in all, £3 4s. 8d.

1670. For Captives in Algiers.—Symon Bennet, Esq., 10s.; Mr. Carpender, minister, 5s.; Mr. Rookes, 1s., with others; in all, £1 1s. 7d.

1672. Sugar Bakers in London. Collected, 5s. 8d.

A Collection for the repair of St. Alban's Church, Jan. 1, 168½.—Symon Bennet, Esq, 5s.; Mr. Carpender, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Rookes, 6d.; in all, 10s. 8d

March 168½. For the poor French Protestants.—Symon Bennet, Esq., £2; Mr. Carpender, £1; Mr. Rookes, 2s. 6d; with other parishioners.

A Collection for the Redemption of the Poor Captives in Algiers, in Oct., 1680.—Symon Bennet, Esq., £1; Mr. Carpender, 10s.; Mr. Rookes, 2s. 6d.; and others.

For the Fire in Wapping, Aprill 6, 1684.—Mrs. Grace Bennet, widow, 5s.; Mr. Carpender, minister, 5s.; Mr. Rookes, 1s.; and others.

For the Poor French Protestants, May 23, 1686.—Madam Bennet, £3 4s. 6d.; Mr. Carpender, minister, £2; with other parishioners.

For the Fire in Whitechappell, 23rd Jan., 168⅞.—Madam Bennet, 1s.; Countess of Salisbury, 10s.; Lady Mary Cecill, 5s.; Mr. Carpender, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Sarah Lee, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Sarah Russell, 1s.; Mrs. Fr. Hawkins, 1s.; Mrs. Mih. Cooper, 1s.; which, with others, amounted in all to £2 0s. 8d., though the rector entered it as only £1 10s. 8d. What became of the odd 10s. does not appear. It would seem as if Madame Bennet must have had a family gathering at her house at this period. The Countess of Salisbury was her daughter.

A Collection for the persecuted Irish Protestants, June 23, 1689.—Madame Bennet, with all her wealth, nothing! Mrs. Carpender's family, thirty-five shillings; and, with others, the sum total should be £2 12s. 6d. But the rector again enters it 10s. short—viz., as £2 2s. 6d.—and does not account for it in any way in the registers. This might possibly account for Madam Bennet's donation of nothing!

A Collection for the Breif of the Poor French Protestants, Aug. 19, 1694. Madame Bennet, 10s.; Mr. Carpender, 10s.; total, £1 2s. 4d.

As Madame Bennet was buried at Beachampton on 27th September, 1694, this is the last brief to which her name is subscribed; she is described by tradition in the locality as an old hag, who would wander about in the fields, picking up sticks for her fire, etc.; and it is reputed that she was barbarously murdered by a butcher from Stony Stratford. It is, however, a very strange thing that neither in the register of Calverton nor Beachampton, which are rather circumstantial than otherwise, is there a single word about the murder. I subjoin a curious trial, which shows that she was, to say the least of it, of an eccentric turn of mind, and evidently not on the best of terms with the rector of the parish.

Warwick collection, April 14th, 1695.—Mr. Carpender, 5s.; his wife, 1s.; his two daughters, 1s.; his man Francis, 6d.; his man Wm., 4d.; in all, with others, £1 0s. 5d.

In the next register book, commencing 1696, are some more briefs, with the total amount of loss, required to be made good, given.

1715. Cowkeepers, Middlesex, Loss, £24,939 14s.; total collected, 3s. This would seem to have been something in the shape of a cattle plague.

1716. Episcopal churches in Poland, Loss, £4,466; collected, 1s.

16 April, 1699. Poor Vaudois, betw. 11 and 12,000 driven into Banishment by Popish Caucery [? sorcery] and superstition, etc., etc.

Redemption of the poor captives in Machaues [? Morocco]. Aug. 11, 1700.

For the poor distressed persecuted and banished Protestants of the Principality of Orange, Feb. 24, 1703-4.

The fifth register book contains very little, commencing with entries of births, etc., 1796, and ending in 1812, the remainder of it is nearly blank, with the exception of the following interesting memorandum made by the Hon. Mr. Perceval, the late rector of the parish :—

"I, Charles George Perceval, 3rd surviving son of Lord Arden, came to reside here as rector of Calverton, on the 26th of March, 1821, aged 24 years and 3 months, being born on Xmas Day, 1796. I succeeded Dr. Butler, to whom it was given by my Father in 1814, to hold till I was of a proper age. My father purchased the living of Lord Salisbury. The new church was built principally at my Father's expence. Dr. Butler very handsomely contributed £500. The new Rectory house, &c., was built entirely at my Father's expence. The church was opened Oct., 1818. The foundations of the house laid in July, 1819."

Mr. Perceval was son of the first Lord Arden, and his only son is the present Earl of Egmont.

The following is the trial I alluded to above, between Mr. Carpender, plaintiff, and Grace Bennett, widow, defendant, it is interesting in showing the estimated value of land at the time it took place, as also the curious manner in which the lady attempted to defraud the rector of his tythes.

Exchequer Decrees. Hilary. 4 Will. and Mary, fol. 67.
Bucks, Monday, 6 February. [1693.]

William Carpender, clerk, in Hilary term, 2 and 3 James ii. [1687], exhibited a Bill against Grace Bennett, widow, showing that he is rector of the p. c. of Calverton, and that about 20 years since he was instituted and inducted into the said church, by reason whereof he is entitled to all tythes, &c., arising in the said parish as belonging to the rector there. Defendant "hath taken out of the common fields of Calverton, and inclosed and divided the same into several closes of pasture, 200a. of land, which used to be sowed with grain and paid tythes in kind, and hath converted the same into pasture, without giving any allowance or satisfaction for the tithes thereof, every acre of which 'is worth 10s. a year.'"

Since 1685 Deft. hath fed with dry cattle, oxen, steers, cows,

heifers, and sheep several meadows in Calverton, containing 54 acres, each acre worth 40s. yearly; and in the said year did feed with sheep, &c., one other close of pasture containing 40a, and had several cows and hogs and other tithable matters, and a large orchard of about 7 acres, inclosed with a wall and well planted with fruit, the tithe worth about £20 : 0 : 0; and mowed the grass there growing, the tithe worth 24s.

Defendant refused to pay the tithes.

The Bill prayed that Deft. might discover and account——

Ordered—That Deft. shall account before the Deputy to H.M. Remembrancer, who is to examine when, and how many, cows and sheep were removed out of the parish of Calverton, and when they were brought back again, and the reasons of such removal, in order that the Court may consider whether it was fraudulent, and that the Deputy do make Report.

Bucks.—Wm. Carpender, in Michas term, 1 Wm. and Mary [1689], exhibited a Bill against Grace Bennett, widow (much to the same effect as above, but with fuller details), as to Defts. depasturing the converted pastures with barren and unprofitable cattle, leaving fruit on the trees till it dropped and was eaten by hogs, removing cows and sheep before calving and lambing times, etc.

Deft. admitted that she had allowed several parcels of arable land to lie fallow and untilled, etc., but never detained any tithes, etc.

Ordered that Deft. shall account before the Deputy to H.M. Remembrancer for tithes due to Plt., who is to examine as to the removal of cattle, and make his Report.

A few months after the date of the above, the old lady died or was murdered; she appears to have commenced her operations against the rector shortly after her husband's death, in 1682, we must, however, note the fact that Mr. Carpender mentions the year 1685 as the one in which she commenced trying to escape payment of her tithes, yet in the following year, May 23, 1686, she made a donation of as much as £3 4s. 6d. to the Poor French Protestants.

The portrait which forms a frontispiece to this paper has hardly any right to be there, for it is that of a De Vere, who really had nothing to do with Calverton, for as far back as 1526 this property fell to the share of Dorothy, the sister and co-heir of John de Vere, the 14th Earl of Oxford, who married John Nevill, Lord Latimer, whose eldest daughter and co-heir, Katherine, married Henry Percy, 8th Earl of Northumberland, etc., the title of Earl of Oxford descending to John's second cousin, another John de Vere, the fifteenth earl of that name, and great great grandfather to the subject of the frontispiece.

P.S.—Since writing the above notes, I have received an interesting letter from Mr. W. F. Read, one of the sons of Mr. Robert Read, the present tenant of the

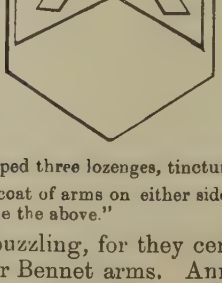
Manor House and farm, which I think I cannot do better than add as a postscript to this paper.

"MANOR HOUSE, CALVERTON, 12 *Feb.*, 1880.

"DEAR SIR,— . . . . There is the date 1659 over the hall door, at which time the house is supposed to have been restored, also the letters S.B., and a coat of arms each side the porch. I am not aware of there being any stone in the house bearing an inscription relating to the murder of Mrs. Bennet, but you probably have seen the stone in the wall round our warren, on which is traced a gibbet and the date 1693 or 1695, and which is supposed to mark the spot where the man got over the wall after committing the murder. There was, until recently removed, in our hall floor a stone on which was a red mark, supposed to be the blood of the murdered lady, and which could never be washed off, but on the stone being taken up a year or two ago, it was discovered to be a red vein, which went right through the stone. Our house is supposed to be haunted (which it certainly is by rats, mice, and birds), and some of our friends have been very frightened, and I remember the time when as a little boy I lived in mortal dread of 'Lady Bennet's ghost.' We have a field called 'Peter's grave,' where the murderer is supposed to have been buried, although I have no other authority that his name was Peter, and another field called 'Gib Ground,' adjoining the London Road, where he is supposed to have been hanged. I do not know the trade of the murderer, but have heard that he was a butcher. I have also heard that he was a cousin of his victim, and that by her death he would come into some money.

"There is a tale told that the old lady, having given orders that every one who came sticking on her premises should be well thrashed, and having suspicions that the orders were not strictly carried into execution, resolved to prove it herself, and accordingly, having disguised herself as a peasant, went out and began picking up sticks, was caught by one of her keepers, who went to her and gave her a really good thrashing, pretending not to believe her when she cried out that she was Lady Bennet, etc. "Yours faithfully, W. FRED. READ."

I received another letter as to the coat of arms mentioned above, dated 16th Feb., 1880, with a sketch as under:—



On a chevron couped three lozenges, tinctures are not shown.

"DEAR SIR,—The coat of arms on either side our porch are one and the same, something like the above."

This is rather puzzling, for they certainly are not the De Vere, Percy, or Bennet arms. Annexed is a pedigree of the Bennett family.

Arms.

GULES, A BEZANT BETWEEN THREE DEMI-LIONS RAMPANT ARGENT.

Wills, Peerage, Parish Registers, Baronetage, Notes Penes Col. Jos. L. Chester, Rev. C. J. Robinson, etc., etc.

JOHN BENNETT.=.....

THOMAS BENNETT,= of Clapcot, co. Berks, to whom in the church of Wallingford, there was a monument with the following inscription:— "This is the monument of Thomas Bennet, of Clapcot, Esq., who had issue Thomas Bennet, Knight, Citizen and Alderman of London, his third sonne, who gave twenty pounds yearly for ever to fifteen poor people of the town of Wallingford."—*Collins' Peerage*, 1779, vol. iv. 309.

1. RICHARD BENNETT.=ELIZABETH, dau. of THOMAS TISDALE, of Deanly, co. Berks, Esq.

2. Son.

3. SIR THOMAS BENNETT, Knt.=ANNE, dau of ..... MALINES, of Mackney, co. Oxon. 3rd son, of Clapcot, co. Berks.

RALPH,= s. & h.

BENNETTS of Moreden, co. Surrey.

SIR JOHN BENNETT,= Knighted at Whitehall, 23 July, 1603, Admin. granted 3 May, 1627, to Francis Gregory, husband to his dau. Elizabeth.

ANNE, dau. of CHRISTOPHER WEEKS, of Salisbury, d. 9 Feb., 1601, buried in York Cathedral.

The Earls of Tankerville.

TH MAS= BENNETT, Alderman of London, Sheriff 1613, died 1622.

.....,sister to SIR HUMPHREY MAY.— *Genealogist*, iii. 237.

Bennetts of Babraham, co. Cambridge, Baronets, extinct 23 May, 1701.

SIR THOMAS BENNETT, Knt., Lord Mayor of London 1603, on 24 July of that year he was knighted. He purchased from Thomas Pigott, Esq., the manor of Beachampton in 1609, and in 1616 that of Calverton from the Earl of Northumberland, both being in co. Buckingham. He held his first court at the latter manor in 1617. His will (*Skynner*, 21) was dated 18 Nov., 1624, and proved 20 Feb., 1626-7. He leaves, amongst other legacies, £40 to the wife of Thomas Freeman, daughter of his cousin, RALPH BENNETT, deceased, and to his grandchild, George Lowe, £200.

MARY, dau. of ROBERT TAYLOR, Sheriff of London in 34 Elizabeth. Buried at St. Olave's, Jewry, London, 22 Dec., 1624.

1. Avies.=Southby.
2. Joan.=Fritwell.
3. Elizabeth.=Gunne.
4. Avelyn.=Burt.

AMBROSE BENNETT. Will dated 18 Dec. 1629. Proved 23 March, 1631.— (*St. John*, 29.)

SIR SYMON= BENNETT, created Baronet 17 July, 1627, buried in Beachampton Church, 22 Aug., 1631, *ob. s. p.* So the Baronetcy became extinct.

ELIZABETH, dau. of SIR ARTHUR INGRAM, Knt., in 1631.

RICHARD BENNETT =an eminent merchant of London, buried in Mercer's Chapel, St. Olave's Jewry, 29 April, 1628. Will dated 27 Jan., and proved 7 May, 1628.— (*Barrington*, 44.)

ELIZABETH, dau. of WILLIAM CRADDOCK, Esq. She married, secondly, Sir Heneage Finch, Recorder of London.

Will dated 26 Nov., 1630; proved 11 May, 1631.— (*St John*, 54.)

JOHN BENNETT =JOAN .....

1. JOHN.
2. AMBROSE.
3. MARY.

ANNE,= marr. licence dated 17 Oct., 1594.

WILLIAM DUNCOMBE, of St. Lawrence, Jewry.

MARY.= SIR GEORGE CROKE, Knt., Justice of the Common Pleas.

.....= GEORGE LOWE, died before 20 Feb., 1636-7.

A

B

A

THOMAS BENNETT, baptized at St. Olave's Jewry 24 Jan., 1621-2, and there buried 14 May, 1624.

SYMON BENNETT. = GRACE, dau. and co-heir of GILBERT MOREWOOD, of Shireoaks in co. York, Esquire, married at St. Bartholomew's the Less, London. 20 Oct., 1649 (*Col. Chester's Registers of Westminster Abbey*, p. 199); buried at Beachampton 27 Sept., 1694. Is said to have been brutally murdered by a butcher named Barnes, from the neighbouring town of Stony Stratford.

Baptized at St Olave's Jewry 6 June, 1624. Heir to both his father and his uncle, Sir Symon. Died 20th, and buried 31st August at Beachampton, where there is a monument with the following epitaph to his memory :—

VIR ERAT PROBUS PRUDENS ET FRUGI
CHRISTIANE PROVIDUS TEMPERARE LIBERALIS
ECCLESLÆ REGI REIPUBLICÆQU. CORDATO DEVOTUS
MARITUS CHARUS INDULGENS PATER HERUS MISEHICORS QUI POSTQUAM
SE DEO RESIGNASSET XX AUGUST: ÆRÆ CHRISTIANÆ MDCLXXXII.
ÆTATIS ANNO CIRCITER SEXAGESS,...VIVIS EXCESSIT
ET HEIC IN FIDE CHRISTIANÂ SUI SERVATORIS EXPECTAT ADVENTŪ.

B

MARY DUNCOMBE. = RALPH DUTTON, of Standish, co. Gloucester, Esq., died 1646 on Burnt Island.

On 25 May, 1624, her grandfather, Sir Thos. Bennett, consented to this marriage, she being seventeen years of age, and both her parents deceased.

ANN. = THOMAS HAMPSON.

ELIZABETH. = WILLIAM BROWNLOWE junior.

WILLIAM, *ob. s.p.*

RALPH DUTTON, created Baronet 22 June, 1678. Extinct 1 Feb., 1743.

MARIA, born 20 July, 1651, died 20th, and buried at Beachampton 27 July, 1653.

THOMAS, born 28 April, bap. 1st, died 2nd, and buried at Beachampton 5 May 1653.

ELIZABETH, born 27 Feb., bap. 27 Mar., 1659, died 1st buried in Westminster Abbey 5 May, 1680. = EDWARD OSBORNE, LORD LATIMER, son and heir of Thomas. Earl of Danby, died *v. p.* 1688.

THOMAS, died in infancy; buried in Westminster Abbey 27 Dec., 1676.

GRACE, buried with her mother.

GRACE, born 27 Sept., bapt. at Calverton 20 Oct., 1664, died 5th, and buried in Westminster Abbey 13 Sept., 1732. Will dated 24 June, 1730; proved 7 Sept., 1732. = JOHN BENNETT, of Abingdon, co. Cambridge, Esq., descended from Sir Thomas Bennett, Knt.

MARIA BENNETT, born 28 April, bap. at Calverton 26 May, 1666, died 26 Nov., 1674, M.I. at Beachampton.

SYMON BENNETT, born 27, bap. at Calverton 3 June, 1668, buried at Beachampton 25 Aug., 1673.

FRANCES, born 20 Oct., bap. at Calverton 1 Dec., 1670, buried at St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London. 15 July, 1713. = JAMES CECIL, 4th EARL OF SALISBURY, died 1694.

The Earls of Salisbury.

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE.

Chancellor of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth.

From the original Picture in the possession of
Lord Clermont.

DISCOVERY OF THE LONG-SOUGHT PORTRAIT OF SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, OF SALDEN.

In the first volume of the Records of Buckinghamshire, page 92, in an article by the Rev. Thomas Horn, of Mursley with Salden, mention is made, on the authority of Browne Willis, of a full-length portrait of Sir John Fortescue, with an inscription underneath, describing his descent:—"Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer and of the Duchy of Lancaster, Master of the Wardrobe, and of the Privy Councell to Queen Elizabeth and King James. He built Salden House, and was the sonne of Sir Adrian Fortescue, Knight, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King Henry VIII., son of Sir John Fortescue, Knight Banneret to King Henry VII., great grandson of Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Governor of Brie, in France, under King Henry V., lineally descended in the ninth generation from Richard Fortescue, Knight, Cupp-bearer to King William the Conqueror."

The portrait disappeared from view for many years, and nothing was known of its site, or even its existence. Lord Clermont, who has written a work, entitled, "An Account of the Family of Fortescue," offered a reward of £50 to any person who should supply such information as might lead to a copy being procured, and a lesser sum for any information that might lead to its discovery. Advertisements were widely circulated, and every means adopted to bring it to light, but for a long time without success.

Lord Clermont's work, printed for private distribution, first appeared in 1869, in two volumes quarto: vol. i. containing the works of Sir John Fortescue, the Chancellor; vol. ii., the general history of the family. His lordship is now on the eve of publishing a revised edition of the second volume only. The following communication has been received from him:—

"The renewed search for the missing portrait of Sir John Fortescue, of Salden, who died in 1607, was begun in July, 1878, and perseveringly and thoroughly conducted by Mr. Richard Sims. It was the Rev. Michael

Dwane, of Weston Underwood, who first ascertained that the picture was still in existence, and where it was to be found. It was shown to have passed from the Fortescues, on the failure of heirs male of Sir Francis Fortescue, the last baronet, at his death in 1729, to the Whorwoods of Weston Underwood, who inherited by marriage one-half of the estate and of Salden House; and it is mentioned by the Rev. William Cole, of Bletchley, who wrote in 1778, as having been seen by him at Mrs. Whorwood's house at Weston Underwood, where it was, no doubt, carried, when that half of Salden House which fell to the share of the Whorwoods was demolished in 1743. From that family it descended by marriage to the Greenwoods of Brize Norton, and from them also by marriage to the Pattersons of Leamington Priors, and it has thus been traced down to the present generation. Having in recent times fallen into the hands of those who did not consider it a family relic, it was parted with, and has become the property of Lord Clermont.

The picture is in a good state of preservation. It is a three-quarters length, and agrees with the Rev. William Cole's description of it. Speaking of this picture, he says:—"I think Mr. Willis is mistaken in calling this picture a full length; at least, I remember to have seen one more than once of Sir John Fortescue, with an inscription of this sort, and only a three-quarters length, down to the knees, at Mrs. Whorwood's, at Weston Underwood." It has been engraved for Lord Clermont, by Mr. Hunt, and copies can be had at Messrs. Graves, printsellers, Pall Mall. His lordship has presented a copy of it in oils to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, to which Sir John Fortescue was a benefactor.

The monument of the same Sir John Fortescue, of Salden, and those of his wife and eldest son in Mursley Church, having become much disfigured by age and injury, were restored by Lord Clermont in 1866, and replaced in the newly-rebuilt chancel in their former positions.

RE-OPENING OF A ROMAN BASILICA UNDER THE CHANCEL OF WING CHURCH.

Probably few persons, even among ecclesiastical architects, are aware that there still exists in the Vale of Aylesbury, beneath the chancel of Wing Church, a crypt which dates from the early Saxon times, and has all the characteristics of a Roman Basilica. This crypt had been closed for many centuries, but was discovered and opened by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, who closed it again. It has now been re-opened at the instance and under the supervision of his son, Mr. George Gilbert Scott, F.S.A., who having long been engaged in the study of our pre-Norman antiquities, has been permitted by the Rev. P. T. Owry, vicar of the parish, to explore it. The crypt, when opened, was found to be filled to the extent of two-thirds of its height with earth and human remains. It consists of a central portion, in plan a sort of truncated trapezium, about 13ft. in length from east to west, and about 6ft. in breadth from north to south. At its western extremity are the remains of a small window, or "squint," which originally opened upon the nave of the church. This central chamber is surrounded by an aisle or passage, about 4ft. in width, communicating with it by arches opening upon its north, south, and east sides, and lighted by windows corresponding with those arches. The clear external width of the crypt is nearly 18ft. either way. The lateral aisles, however, so to speak, extend beyond the crypt itself for some distance westward towards the nave, with the aisles of which they originally communicated by ascents of steps on the north and the south. The crypt is vaulted throughout in tufa, and has been plastered; the ancient plaster still exists in many places. The plan of this small and almost rude monument of remote antiquity is apparently identical in principle with the crypt of the ancient Church of St. Peter's at Rome, and with many of the earliest examples of the Basilican Confessio; and there can be little doubt that its design is attributable to the influence of the successors of St. Augustine in the seventh century, to which it probably belongs. It is certainly startling to find a "polyandrum"

and a "confessio" in Buckinghamshire, a county which is generally said to be rather poor in its ecclesiastical remains; and it is to be hoped that the authorities of the church will not allow the crypt to be again buried out of sight, as a very trifling outlay would suffice to pay for the removal of the soil. A plan of this interesting monument will appear in Mr. G. G. Scott's forthcoming essay on the "History of English Church Architecture."

LOCAL HISTORIES.

Two additions have lately been made to our County Histories.

Mr. John Parker, senior, of High Wycombe, has brought out a quarto volume, with illustrations, entitled "The Early History and Antiquities of High Wycombe," and dedicated to the Right Honourable Charles Robert, Baron Carington. The work was published by subscription, and at the head of a list of many and influential subscribers is H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. In a review of it, it is stated to be "a work of which it may be said, without exaggeration, that it is a model of what a contribution to county history should be. That its range is limited is, at starting, in its favour; but it is complete without being burdened with detail, and while every page is marked with the evidences of careful and laborious research, yet the compilation has been so judiciously managed, and the matter so well edited, that the volume is far from being dry reading."

Mr. Parker has had the satisfaction of receiving the commendations of distinguished antiquarians since the completion and publication of a work, which has been the result of many years of pleasurable labour and research. His son, Mr. J. Parker, junr., F.S.A., proposes to contribute a paper to the next year's RECORDS, on the subject of his father's volume.

Mr. Robert Gibbs, of Aylesbury, has published a work, in two volumes, entitled "Local Occurrences," which records, in chronological order, the past events of the locality. The first volume commences with the year

A.D. 1400, and is carried on to the end of the year 1700. The second volume is a continuation to the end of the year 1800. This work is exceedingly interesting, and very valuable as a book of reference. It is a source of great satisfaction that the author has stated in a note at the commencement of the second volume, that he "purposes to finish his work in a third volume, so as to embrace matters as near as possible to the date of publication."

Proceedings of the Society.

A COMMITTEE MEETING was held, July 5th, 1880. The Rev. C. Lowndes stated that, having met and been introduced to the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, he asked him if he would be kind enough to conduct the members of our Society over the Abbey. His reply was in the affirmative, and "with pleasure." He also stated that he had written to the Archbishop of Canterbury to ask permission to visit Lambeth Palace. His reply was also in the affirmative, provided the day fixed would not interfere with their arrangements there. He had also written to Dr. Vaughan, the Master of the Temple, to ask for permission to visit the Temple. Dr. Vaughan was sorry he was in residence at Llandaff, but he would instruct the Under-Treasurer to show the Society every attention.

Resolved—That an excursion be made to Westminster Abbey, Lambeth Palace, and Temple Church, and that the Annual Meeting be held on a day that the Dean of Westminster might fix.

The Rev. C. Lowndes was directed to make arrangements for carrying out the above resolution. Several new members were proposed and seconded, and will be offered for election at the Annual Meeting.

The Annual Meeting and Excursion were fixed for Monday, July 19th, 1880. The Members and their friends assembled at eleven o'clock in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, where they were met by the Very Rev. the Dean. He said he was very pleased to meet the Members of the Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham, but he was very sorry he had unexpectedly received a summons to attend a meeting at Lambeth Palace, at twelve o'clock. He would, however, make a few introductory remarks on the Chapter House, and then put them in the hands of his Verger, who was as well acquainted with the Abbey as he was himself. He said it was founded in the time of Henry III., and referred to its architectural features, and to the paintings on the walls, which represented the History of St. John; but its chief interest consisted in its having been, as it were, the cradle of the British Constitution, for the House of Commons held its sittings here for the first three hundred years of its about six hundred years' existence—at least, it is an historical fact that the Commons assembled here in 1377, and continued to use the Chapter House as their meeting-place till the reign of Edward VI., when it was removed to St. Stephen's. The Dean then took leave of them, and said the Verger would show them over every part of the Abbey, particularly those parts not usually open to the public. They would, no doubt, like to see the wax-work figures, which, though poor

things in themselves, and of no historical interest, were nevertheless curious. The Hon. T. F. Freemantle proposed a vote of thanks to the Dean for his kindness in giving them an account of the Chapter House. It is needless, in a provincial publication like this, to give any detailed account of the tombs and monuments to be seen in the Abbey. It is sufficient to state that the Verger led the party, according to the Dean's directions, over the Abbey, and admirably performed his part, receiving the thanks of the Members.

On leaving the Abbey, the party proceeded to the Westminster Palace Hotel, where an excellent luncheon was provided, and presided over by the Hon. T. F. Freemantle. After the repast, the

ANNUAL MEETING

was held.

Mr. FREEMANTLE rose and said: I have taken upon myself to sit at the head of the table by the kind invitation of your excellent Secretary, Mr. Lowndes. I am glad of the opportunity of meeting the Members of the Bucks Archæological Society on this occasion. You have come a long distance, while I have come but a short one, over a road with which, thanks to the kindness and confidence of my Buckinghamshire friends, I am now very familiar at all hours of the day and night. We have heard some very interesting remarks from the Dean of Westminster, and I regret that urgent business at Lambeth Palace prevented Dr. Stanley going over the Abbey with us. He had, however, kindly given them the opportunity of seeing certain things which were not usually to be seen without his permission; and we are very grateful to him for that permission. I must not take up the time of the meeting by a long speech, because we have a great deal still to see, but will pass at once to the general business, the first of which, according to the agenda, which has been put in my hand by your Secretary, is the election of Vice-Presidents.

The Rev. T. EVETTS proposed, and R. ROSE, Esq., seconded the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, as follows:—The Ven. Archdeacon of Buckingham, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Beaconsfield, Sir Harry Verney, Bart., Sir P. D. P. Duncombe, Bart., Sir T. T. Bernard, Rev. C. O. Goodford, D.D., Rev. J. J. Goodall, F. D. Hibbert, Esq., J. G. Hubbard, Esq., C. G. Du Pre, Esq., W. Lowndes, Esq.

It was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. ROSE proposed the re-election of the Hon. Secretaries, the Rev. C. Lowndes, Rev. B. Burgess, and Rev. J. Wood; of the Treasurer, Rev. C. Lowndes; and of the Auditors, Messrs. J. E. Bartlett and T. Horwood.

Mr. BODE seconded it, and it was also agreed to.

The TREASURER then made his financial statement. He was happy to say that their funds were in a much better position than they were last year, because at that time there was a balance of £12 due to the Treasurer, which had now been reduced to 1s. 9d. He read over the balance sheet, which was as follows:—Receipts, £60 17s. 9d., including £5 from a life member, and a donation of £5 from C. G. Du Pré, Esq.; payments, including balance of £12 0s. 9d. due January 31st, £60 19s. 3d.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that this was a very satisfactory state of things, and the report was adopted.

The following new Members, who had been proposed and seconded at a Committee Meeting, were then elected, viz.:—W. Nash, Esq., 39, London Road, Reading; Rev. J. M. Guilding, St. Laurance, Reading; Rev. F. G. Kiddle, Buckingham; W. Crouch, Esq., Walton, Aylesbury; Rev. H. M. Wells, Prestwood Common, Great Missenden; Rev. M. P. Nepean, Great

Brickhill; Rev. J. H. Garde, Shenley; Rev. T. W. D. Brooks, Great Hampden.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a vote of thanks to the Secretary for the excellent way in which he had carried out the arrangements of the meeting.

The Rev. C. LOWNDES returned thanks.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman closed the proceedings of the Annual Meeting.

The Members then proceeded to the Westminster Bridge Pier, and crossed the Thames in a steamboat to

LAMBETH PALACE.

On entering the gateway, the Members were welcomed by C. B. Harcourt, Esq., private secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Having conducted them to the guard-room under the gateway, he said he was very pleased to see his friends from the county in which he and his family resided. He gave them an account of the foundation of the Palace, and its history down to the present time, especially referring to the Lollards' Tower, which they would have an opportunity of seeing. He then led them through the old part of the Palace, which contains the muniment room, and a room stated to have been the bedroom of the Archbishop, and through the dining and drawing-rooms. The dining-room contains many historical portraits, also portraits of the Archbishops from an early date down to the present Primate. Mr. Harcourt then took them into the Chapel, where they were met by the Rev. Mr. Davidson, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Davidson gave a history of the chapel, explaining the many changes to which it had been subject. During the civil wars the windows were very much broken, and Laud mentioned in his diary that he found them patched "like a poor beggar's coat:" the glass was replaced, and again broken, after which a common pattern was supplied. Recently, however, the very beautiful windows *fac-similes* of the original have been instituted. Mr. Davidson especially called attention to the window at the east end, which represents the Crucifixion. This was referred to in the first indictment against Laud, viz., that "he had the figure of a crucifix over the altar in his chapel." Parker's consecration was stated to have taken place in the chapel; he had been accustomed to pray on the right of the altar, and there he was buried. The tomb was broken open in Cromwell's time, and Parker's bones were thrown away, and the Chapel turned into a dining-hall. After the Restoration, Archbishop Sancroft restored the tomb, and the bones were collected and re-buried in the Chapel. From the Chapel the Members were conducted to the Lollards' Tower, at the top of which is a wainscoated chamber, carved all over with the names of the poor victims who were confined there and tortured for presuming to think for themselves; the roof is low, the window narrow, and a small grate on one side served not only to warm the captives, but to suffocate them too when they became too numerous to exist in so limited a space; many iron rings to which the prisoners were chained are still in existence. In connection with this dungeon, there were a rack and other implements of torture, but these were ordered to be burnt by an Archbishop of recent times. After the inspection of the Lollards' Tower, the Members were conducted into the Library, which contained many valuable works. The librarian selected many illuminated manuscripts for the inspection of the Members; he stated that the Library had been demolished during the Civil Wars, and the books were removed for security to Cambridge, and were afterwards restored. The present

Archbishop had kindly thrown open the Library to the clergy and laity of his diocese four days a week, which has proved a boon to many.

Dr. PITMAN then proposed a vote of thanks to the Librarian, which was duly acknowledged.

The Members, after thanking C. B. Harcourt, Esq., for his kind attention, and for the excellent arrangements he had made for their visit to the Palace, left, and recrossed the river to the

TEMPLE CHURCH.

Here they were met by the Under-Treasurer, whom Dr. Vaughan, the Master of the Temple, had kindly requested in his absence to show them every part of the building. The Church was founded in the middle of the twelfth century, and was built after the model of the Church of the Order of the Knights Templars at Jerusalem. It has lately been completely restored, at an expenditure of £74,000, defrayed by the Legal Society of the Temple. Externally it has not a very imposing appearance; internally it is most beautiful. The monuments of Edmund Strongbow and other Knights Templars are some of its principal attractions: these recumbent figures of black marble are clad in the complete armour of the period, with the ponderous sword of the Crusaders by their sides. The polished Purbeck marble pillars, freed from their incrustations of white-wash and plaster, appear in their former splendour. A magnificent stained glass window, a beautiful roof, handsome carved oak seats, and other adjuncts, complete the restoration of this fine church.

The day's investigations being now at an end, the Members and their friends returned to their respective homes.

The Arms of the Corporation of Wycombe are thus depicted in the Herald's Visitation of the County of Bucks, in the year 1575, and again in the Visitation of the County in 1634 in which last named year Mathew Cliffer is stated to have been Mayor.

An ancient Sculpture in the possession of the Writer similarly displays the Arms.

The modern Arms of the Corporation appear therefore to be incorrect, in as much as the wings of the Swan are spread, see a very interesting paper on "The Swan of Buckingham" by Henry Gough, Esquire, in the Records of Buckinghamshire for 1870.

WYCOMBE AND ITS ANTIQUITIES.*

BY JOHN PARKER, F.S.A.

The old town of Wycombe lies in narrow valleys in the midst of the Chiltern Hills ; it was almost surrounded in ancient times by beech forests. Through the main valley was a road from Oxford to London, and to the royal borough of Windsor; the poor scholar must often have tramped this road from the metropolis to the university town in mediæval times. Through the hills at the north and the south of Wycombe may be seen, by deep indentations, the ancient British roads ; the one on the northern hill leading to the old town of Amersham, or Agmondesham, and the other on the southern hill leading to Great Marlow and the Thames valley. On the northern hill, on a fine position, and commanding the valley, stood the Castle, just above the town.

A very carefully-prepared plan of the ancient town of Wycombe and its precincts accompanies the "Early History of Wycombe," and discloses to the reader the great antiquity of the place. The Romans are the first who have left their mark on the locality, and, without particularizing at present, on the picturesque hill at the south, known by the significant name of Keep Hill, a Roman camp is distinctly visible, and in the valley just below is the site of a Roman villa, of which I shall have more to say hereafter. In the town itself the chief objects of interest are the remains of the Norman hall of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, and the church of All Saints, an Early English building, and one among the very finest parish churches in the kingdom. But a town, that is believed to have been made a free burgh by Henry I., whose long list of representatives can be traced to Stephen Ayott and Thomas Taylur, who were elected

* "The Early History and Antiquities of Wycombe in Buckinghamshire," by the late John Parker. Butler and Son, Wycombe, 1878.

to serve in the Parliament at Westminster in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Edward I., and the names of whose mayors are handed down to us from the fourteenth year of the reign of Edward IV., has no mean claim to the attention of the antiquary and the student of history. To Buckinghamshire men Wycombe has a peculiar interest, as being not only an ancient town, but as having a future history before it, evidenced by its gradual increase in size and importance.

No great British trackway passed through Wycombe. The Ikenield Street, stretching from the coast of Norfolk to Cenia, a British town on the coast of Cornwall, passed along the Chiltern Hills to the north-west of the Wycombe valleys. Nor was Wycombe more favoured at the time of the Roman occupation, it lay between the two great military roads, at about equal distances from each, the one leading from Londinium (London) to Deva (Chester), and the other leading from Londinium to Aquæ Solis (Bath). It is true that there is some impression that a Roman road passed through the town, but it is not mentioned either in the Itinerary of Antoninus or of Richard of Cirencester. Let us dwell for a few moments on the two important roads, to which reference has just been made. The northern, or rather north-western road, was no doubt much frequented, as it led to the great City of Deva, the station of the twentieth legion; this is the only main road that crossed the county of Buckingham, it passed along the north-east corner of the county, having a station at a town called Magiovintum, in the vicinity of Fenny Stratford. But doubtless the road to Aquæ Solis (the waters of the sun) had many attractions, and was a road that might naturally be taken by those living in the neighbourhood of Wycombe. A learned writer,* speaking of the rich district between Sorbiodunm (Old Sarum) and Glevum (Gloucester), says: "In its centre stood a city remarkable for its splendid edifices, its temples, its buildings for public amusements, and still more for its medicinal baths. For this latter reason it was called Aquæ Solis, and for the same cause its representative in modern times has received the name of Bath. Remains of the Roman bathing-houses have

* "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," by Thomas Wright. P. 142.

been discovered in the course of modern excavations. Among its temples was a magnificent one dedicated to Minerva, who is supposed to have been the patron goddess of the place. From inscriptions found at different periods it appears that military commanders, high municipal officers, and other persons of rank, frequented this city for the benefit of its waters."

It was the centre from which many roads communicated to every part of the island. We naturally are interested in tracing the road, which led from Londinium to this famed city in connection with the subject before us. The road took the direction from Londinium through the present towns of Brentford and Hounslow to Staines, where it crossed the Thames over a bridge, from which the Roman town at this place took the name of Pontes.* It then continued in a south-westerly direction, till it reached the celebrated town of Calleva (Silchester). The site of this town is between Reading and Basingstoke, and the nearest point to reach it is from the Mortimer Station of the Great Western Railway. The walls of the town enclosed an area three miles in circuit. The excavations on the spot are well worth a journey of inspection. Burton, in his Commentary on the Itinerary of Antoninus, calls this town Vindonum, and gives an authority, Ninnius, for asserting that this city was built by Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great.† Leaving Calleva the road passed through Spinæ, the modern name of which is believed to be Speen, a village in Berkshire, thence to Cunetio, the site now called Folly Farm, near Marlborough; the next station would be Verlucio, not far from the town of Chippenham, and thence to Aquæ Solis.‡

Now, though Wycombe was at some distance from any great military road, yet the fact of a Roman villa of some importance having been discovered in its neighbourhood, gives us some evidence of the very general occupation of our island by the Romans. When every vestige of beauty was demolished, and when to Saxon eyes a statue or bust

* Wright's "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," p. 135.

† Burton's "Commentary on Antoninus's Itinerary," p. 265.

‡ See Brewer's "Introduction to the Beauties of England." Map of the Roman roads.

was an implement of magic to be broken to pieces, the occurrence of this subsequent barbaric invasion of England makes it necessary to be reminded that the Roman occupation lasted nearly four hundred years.

Frequent discoveries reveal to us the fact that England was covered, particularly in the midland southern counties, with large and elegant rural mansions of Roman nobles. In the larger villas we trace the different courts and compartments, from the halls, with their cunningly-worked tesselated pavements, to the quarters of the slaves. We discover all the appliances of comfort and luxury, which the baths and the perfect system of heating disclose to us. To compare for a moment the comforts of a Roman villa with the grim interior of a mediæval castle, centuries after, will lead us to reflect on the strange and lengthened decline which had taken place in European civilization, socially considered.

The records of the Wycombe Municipal Charity Trustees for the year 1724 disclosed the finding of Roman tesselated pavements in a mead called Great Penns Mead, about a quarter of a mile from the borough; the pavement is described as "set in curious figures, as circles, squares, hearts, and many other curious figures, with a beast in the centre, in a circle, like a dog standing sideways by a tree, all set with stones about a quarter of an inch square." By means of the descriptions of property in a lease granted in the reign of Henry VIII., Great Penns Mead was identified in the year 1862, and the following was the result of the exploration of the meadow in that year.

"The remains of a Roman villa were uncovered, consisting of the foundations of a portico, the floors of several apartments, and an atrium or hall, consisting of a square flanked by two oblongs, the whole being enclosed by bands of double and single guilloche. The oblong compartments contain a series of sea monsters with twisted tails. The square is again resolved into a smaller central square (the design of which is lost), with four still smaller squares at the angles, which are occupied by female busts, representing the Horæ or goddesses of the seasons. The one that remains perfect appears to represent the spring. All the mosaics are executed with very fine tesserulæ of black, blue, red, yellow, and white, on a

solid basis of flints and rubble. Another compartment also contained mosaic pavement, with a margin of common red tesseræ * * * * The site of the pavement discovered in 1724 was at the entrance to the villa, and no doubt was the well-known Cave Canem recorded as having been found. * * * The entire central building lay only from twelve to eighteen inches below the surface. Leaving the central building, we proceed through the court of the villa to the eastern fortification wall. At the north end, near the brook which runs close by, are the foundations of inner and outer walls; in the latter are the remains of two turrets, eighteen feet apart; between these was an entrance to the villa, traces of which still remain in the wall. The turrets project five feet from the wall, and are paved with common red tesseræ, each having a seat of the same pavement. Southward from these turrets are the most remarkable remains brought to light, composing a distinct set of compartments of much larger dimensions than those in the central building. The largest apartment had a hypocaust, and the ruins of the pile were found mixed with pieces of guilloche pavement of superior workmanship, and rubbed to a fine surface. Nearly adjoining the larger apartment, at a depth of about four feet, was found, what, without doubt, was the bath, having pavement composed of white tesseræ, each about half-an-inch square, the margin and other parts being laid in red. The sides were plastered and decorated in fresco; a part of a fish resembling a roach was painted on one of them, with the colours in a good state of preservation. The following relics were found, *i.e.*, an arrow head, two bone hair-pins, and a statera, or miniature steelyard, in bronze, similarly engraved to one found at Cirencester. * * * * It is remarkable that none of the remains lately discovered appear to have been known to the antiquarians of 1724." *

Accompanying this description is a ground plan of the villa, which completes the information on this interesting discovery.

The history of our towns, of their institutions, their liberties, and privileges, is well worthy of our considera-

* "Early History of Wycombe," pp. 2 and 3.

tion. It appears almost certain that the Roman civilization in this country is the foundation upon which municipal rights were originally based; rude as the Saxon was, he had the great notion of the family tie, he abhorred centralization; the tything, the hundred, each was connected of itself with a government. Can we not then imagine that, though the luxury and refinements of the Roman might have been despised, yet the privileges and independence of citizenship commended themselves to the rude invader? To make, therefore, the charter of a Plantagenet king the starting-point of our municipal privileges is wholly a mistake. The Norman conquest did not efface the independent spirit of the burgher; he might have to submit for a time to the tyranny of William of Normandy and his descendants, but he preserved the spirit which he had received from his Saxon parentage, and he waited his opportunity to claim his ancient rights. The king, perhaps, needed the support of the burgher against the baron; then his time was come, he told the monarch the rights his town had long enjoyed, and he asked that those rights should be secured. The charter embodied the cherished privileges, which hitherto had been handed down traditionally, but which now were solemnly confirmed.

These remarks occur to me in tracing the history of an ancient town, such as Wycombe. Although Wycombe was recognized in the charters of successive sovereigns as a prescriptive borough, yet it is not so described in the Domesday Book, nor do the municipal muniments give the date of its incorporation, which, however, is ascribed to Henry I. None of his charters are extant, but it is probable that the charter relating to Wycombe was only confirmatory of liberties and privileges long previously enjoyed by the burgesses.

In perusing the several charters, which are printed in an appendix to the "Early History of Wycombe," we find that the majority of them, till we come to the charter of 5th and 6th Philip and Mary, are simple confirmations of the charter of the 21st Henry III.; in this charter we discover that contentions had existed between the burgesses of Wycombe and Alan Basset, to whom, by an earlier charter, 5th of John, the crown had granted the Manor of Wycombe. This Alan was a powerful baron, and appears in history as one of the barons present at the

signing of Magna Charta. The charter of the 21st Henry III. recites an agreement between Alan and the burgesses, who complain of "wrongs and injuries which the said Alan did to them." By this agreement Alan granted to the burgesses all the borough with the rents, markets, and fairs, and the buildings of *Enaventhorn*,* except his demesnes, outlying lands, and mills for £30 and one mark a-year; there are also stipulations in this agreement, amongst others, that "the said Alan shall have the dung found in the streets of Wycombe"—this singular privilege is still held by the occupier of the Bassetsbury Mill, the mill attached to Alan's manor house, who to this day still continues the weekly scavenger of the Wycombe streets. The king by this charter confirms the agreement between Alan and the burgesses.

But when we come to the charter of Philip and Mary, we arrive at one of the governing charters of this ancient borough. It appear that this charter was granted to the burgesses as a reward for their fidelity to Mary during her short, but chequered and unhappy reign; the queen had, as we know, twice undergone considerable anxiety. At the commencement of her reign, John, Duke of Northumberland, had disputed her claim to the throne, and had, in fact, proclaimed the Lady Jane Grey Queen of England; another occasion of disquietude had been the opposition to her marriage with Philip of Spain, whose bigotry and intolerance had reached the ears of the people of this island; this dissatisfaction culminated in the feeble rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt; now during both these rebellions, the charter says, the burgesses "have most faithfully adhered to us, and have manfully resisted the same rebellions." By this charter Wycombe was constituted a free borough, it was ordained that there should be twelve principal burgesses, a steward, and two bailiffs, power was given to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses to hold a court for recovery of debts not exceeding £20; amongst other privileges the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses might hold a market every Friday, and two yearly fairs, one on the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, and the other on the Feast of the "Exaltation of the Holy Cross," "together with a Court

* Court of Burgesses.

of Piepouder there to be holden during the time of the same marts or fairs." The boundaries of the borough, as they existed up to last year, are clearly defined in this charter; these boundaries are now extended by the Wycombe Extension Act, 1880, to meet the requirements of united government for the town, which has within the last few years far outstretched the limits known in Mary's reign. Power is also given to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses to elect "two discreet and honest men to be burgesses of the Parliament," and these are to be sent to Parliament at the "charge of the said borough and the commonality thereof," as was indeed the custom in those times, the ambition for a seat in Parliament being then not so keenly felt as at the present day; rather, it may be said, that we have evidence of a reluctance on the part of knights of shires and members of boroughs, in finding their way to their seats at Westminster. The charter is an exhaustive document, as to the regulation for the good order and governance of the town, and the worthy burgesses, doubtless, on acquiring the privileges which it conferred, regarded with complacency the acknowledgments of their loyalty to the queen.

The "Early History of Wycombe" informs us that "the borough was governed by a court of burgesses up to the middle or latter part of the fourteenth century, when we find the first mention of mayors *officially appointed* as such; about that period the municipal body seems to have been composed of the mayor, two bailiffs, two gildans,* and the burgesses called the commonality. Aldermen do not appear till the fifteenth century. They were, as we have seen by the charter of Philip and Mary, called principal burgesses, and were twelve in number, including the Mayor. The corporation then consisted of a mayor, twelve aldermen, a high steward, and two bailiffs.

"The first mention of a mayor, occurs in the reign of Edward the I., when Roger Outred, Oughtred, or Hutred, is described as Mayor in each year up to 1302.

* Part of the duties of the gildan was to see to the proper observance of the privileges of the burgesses, as to the depasturing cattle in the Rye Mead, an extensive piece of pasture land attached to the town.

He was succeeded by Gervase le Baker, who continued in office until 1320." *

There is a charter of the 40th Queen Elizabeth, and also one of 6th James I. These are, for the most part, confirmations of Philip and Mary's charter; but by the charter of James a first Recorder was appointed, and the office of steward was abolished. The last charter of importance to the borough is that of the 15th Charles II., which is esteemed the governing charter; it is, however, a recapitulation of the charters which have been previously mentioned. The only other charters granted in connection with this borough which need be mentioned, are one of the 13th Henry III., by which Henry granted a fair on the eve of Saint Margaret to the Hospital of Lepers "of Saint Margaret of Wicombe," the site of which was in the grounds of Wycombe Abbey; the other charter is the 4th Elizabeth, by which the queen grants the corporation licence to found a grammar school of "one master or pedagogue," and also to support four poor persons of the town. To enable the corporation to carry out this scheme, the queen grants to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses the Hospital of "Saint John the Baptist in Wycombe," and the lands of the hospital in Buckinghamshire, and also certain other property known as "our lady rents." On this charter we shall have more to say hereafter.

We have seen that the boundaries of the borough were defined by the charter of Philip and Mary, but the following quotations from the "Early History of Wycombe," (pp. 34, 35), as to the earlier limits of the town, will interest those who have some knowledge of the locality.

"It is conjectured, and there is every reason to believe it was the fact, that the present boundary of the borough, as described in the charters and more in detail in the copy of its perambulation, is comparatively modern. The names of 'New Land,' 'La Grene' (Frogmore), and Easton Town, indicate that they were outside the ancient terræ dominicales, the 'inland' or demesne, constituting the small burgh and homestead, or dwelling of the Saxon Chief, which, in all probability, extended from the end of White Hart Street to the bottom of Crendon Lane, and from the castle and church on the north, to

* "History of Wycombe," p. 22.

Bridge Mill at the bottom of Paul's Row on the south. Within this limit seem to have dwelt the burgesses who cultivated the common fields on the slopes of the hills and depastured their cattle in the Rye * * * * The plan of the Hospital of St. John, in Easton Street, shows that the site of it extended down to the mill stream, and that the present road was subsequently cut through it. Easton Street was probably at first only a road for the most part leading to the hospital, and to the mill called Pan Mill, around which a few houses gradually sprang up, which were called Easton or Easton Town. The road leading from Great Marlow to the north of the county by Crendon Lane, left Wycombe on the left, just as the road leading to London by the old Windsor way, left it on the right. The town might thus be barred up at nights without interfering with traffic about the country. East of the town you would then have an open space, and when the hospital came to be built in the twelfth century, it is here that the site would naturally be selected. East Town, as appears by the records, had its separate fair, and this fair is confirmatory of its being a distinct district. The old Windsor way near Loakes, and the name of Horsenden, seem to point out the locality of the ancient hamlet of Horseyn, which disappeared, as the borough grew up in a more convenient situation. Any difficulty that may occur to the reader, as to the disappearance of a hamlet in the middle ages will be removed, when it is borne in mind that the homes of the peasants were for the most part mud-walled huts covered with thatch, and easily changed their locality."

The Church Square is indicated as the site of the ancient demesne lands of Wycombe, and "when the burgesses became *sui juris*, it was in the middle of Church Square that they very naturally would erect their 'Geld-Halle,' and the space round this site may account for the curved line taken by Paul's Row, which in the earliest times must have been the lane surrounding the homestead * * * * The position of the [Bridge] Mill and the Church clearly shows that the demesne homestead would be situated between them, and the castle and mound would have been originally erected as a defence to the demesne below."

It is interesting to consider the constitution of an

ordinary borough town in the middle ages. We shall see, in the case of Wycombe, that a town at that period was left very much to its own resources in its internal government and general condition. Thick forests, wide heaths, bad roads, all contributed to disconnect the towns from the country and each other; the annual fair, we may presume, was the single occasion, when an influx from without set in and the year's purchases were made by the townspeople from the travelling hawkers, who brought their wares from London and the great cities. At all other times the privileges of local trades were jealously protected; in fact, the community of the mediæval town may be considered as self-supporting, and living under a distinct and truly inquisitorial government.

The mayor and his brethren, we are told, anciently possessed almost absolute authority within the borough.

An order in 1398 is interesting. "That no man of whatever condition shall be delaying in the town of Wycombe after ten o'clock at night; any wanderer ought to go out of the town, unless he have reasonable cause for wandering therein. And if anyone be so found wandering about after the said hour, he shall be immediately seized and imprisoned by the servants of the town and detained in prison, until he be set at liberty by the mayor (or some one holding his place) and the commonality."

From the ancient records it appears that an extensive cloth manufactory was carried on in Wycombe; there are orders, one in 1316, and another temp. Henry VIII., regulating the working of weavers in the borough, which are worth an inspection. In 1609, we find, the "tailors inhabiting within the borough" complain, "that they were much oppressed with the number of fforeyne Taylors continuallye coming into the libertys * * * Whereupon y^{t} was ordered by the then maior, aldermen and bailiffs present, and consenting at the requeste and humble suite of the said taylors, that from thenceforthe noe fforreyne Taylor excepte he were eyther borne, or hadd seaven yeares served as an apprentice to a Taylor w^{thin} the boroughe sho^{d} come to dwell, or to keepe any shoppe w^{thin} this boroughe upon payne to hav his shoppe windowes shutt uppe by the serjeante for tyme beinge," etc.

Space would not permit further quotations from the very interesting records of the corporation; they are un-

fortunately not complete, as the records of the borough courts during the Lancasterian period have perished; still they deserve the attention, and prominent position given to them in the history before us.

In the Harleian MSS. it is recorded that a wealthy Saxon named Snarting built the church at Wycombe, and it is supposed to have been consecrated between the years 1070 and 1092, and was dedicated to All Saints. Scarcely a vestige of this church is preserved. "About the year 1186, St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, confirmed the grant (made by Hen. I.) of the church of Wycombe to the House of St. Mary and St. John the Baptist of Godstown."* The present church was erected partly on the site of Snarting's church in the thirteenth century, it originally consisted of nave, aisles, chancel, and a central tower. Many of the Early English windows are fortunately preserved, but the central tower has disappeared, and the original roof of the nave has made way for a perpendicular roof and clerestory windows supported upon arches of the same style. The fine west end tower, perfecting the present church, was, we are told, erected in the year 1522 under the superintendence of Rowland Messenger, a former vicar of Wycombe, and its completion was celebrated with much rejoicing, "ryngying of bellys and pypying of organs."† The length of this grand old parish church is 180 feet, and the height of the nave is 48 feet; its recent restoration, under the eminent architect Mr. Street, brings out its pristine beauty of proportion, and renders it an object of admiration to all who enter within its walls.

Among the long list of vicars of Wycombe, perhaps Rowland Messenger was the one who would claim more especial attention. He appears to have been a man of considerable architectural skill, and was appointed by Cardinal Wolsey "a clerk or controller of the works on the erection of the tower of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1525,"‡ but he also gained unenviable notoriety in his zeal against heretics; he was appointed by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, to take the oversight of the burning of Thomas Harding of

* "History of Wycombe," p. 92. † Ibid. p. 102. ‡ Ibid. p. 102.

Chesham, for denying the real presence in the sacrament. Foxe the martyrologist mentions Rowland Messenger on the occasion of Thomas Rowe of Great Marlow coming to Wycombe to do penance on abjuring his heresy, and of Messenger "binding his fagot with a silken lace."

One of the most interesting inquiries for the antiquarian in his researches into the archives of Wycombe will be with reference to the *Chapel of St. Mary*. We know not its site, but we have just enough information relating to it to establish the fact, that it was a favourite sanctuary with the burgesses. The chapel to which we refer was not merely the usual chapel dedicated to the Virgin behind the high altar; whether it was situated in the street called Bynethe-brigge [Beneath or Beyond Bridge] * afterwards and now known as St. Mary Street, or whether it was a building attached to the church of All Saints—this much we do know, that it was a chapel of some importance; it had its separate wardens, who were always burgesses of standing,† and were indifferently styled "Wardens," "Churchmen," or Collectors of St. Mary's Chapel, and on the re-building of the chapel in 1338 four wardens came into office called "custodes operis Beatæ Mariæ." Foxe the martyrologist assists us in gaining some idea of the chapel itself; we find from him that it had its separate rood loft, an evidence thus afforded, beyond the evidence we possess of the re-building of this chapel between the years 1338 and 1378, of a distinct edifice for pre-reformational worship. Foxe's story is as follows:—"That Henry Phip was accused in the Bishop of Lincoln's Court, for that being chosen roodman or keeper of the rood loft of St. Mary's Chapel, he should say, that he must go and tend a candle before his block Almighty, for which he abjured his error in 1521 before Bishop Longland."

To the chapel of St. Mary the richer burgesses made many bequests and offerings: thus in the reign of Edward I., "Ralph de Croindene of Wycombe grants to God and the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Wycombe for the support of a chaplain there serving God, and the blessed Mary, for the health of the souls of him and his

* "History of Wycombe," p. 130. † Ibid. p. 131.

ancestor, a piece of ground near the churchyard of the church of All Saints, between the tenement of Thomas le Wander and William le Cotilier."

On the 18th March, 45th Edward III., "William Fere of Wycombe grants to Thomas Reeve, Walter Noble, and Richard Hughete, wardens of the work of the Blessed Mary of Wycombe, a messuage in Newland Street, between the meadow of William atte Dene and that late of John Sandwelle, they paying yearly 6s. 8d. to the grantor and Ceele [*sic*, qy. Cecily or Celia] his wife." These are quotations, and others might be added, from deeds in Latin, translated by the late Mr. Riley, and printed in the Fifth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The deeds themselves are in the possession of the Governors of the Wycombe Grammar School Foundation. Amongst the ledgers in the possession of the governors is an extract from the will of Edward Cary the elder, dated circ. 1475, by which the testator directs that if it happen that Margaret Wykes die without heirs of her body, then the tenement he describes is "to remain to the mayor and burgesses of the said town and their successors for ever, to the sustaining of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, and for the sustaining of a chaplain to sing mass for the souls of" those named in the will. The quotation from this will is given to show the connection there existed between the chapel and the corporate body.

The inventory taken in 1519 "of the godes jewellys and ornaments belongynge to the chapelle of our Lady," discloses the costly offerings that were then presented; and amongst the prominent benefactors was William Redehode, a rich London salter, who appears to have retired to Wycombe, and to have been a man of public spirit. St. Mary's Chapel, though belonging to the fraternity or guild of St. Mary, was, as before hinted, closely associated with the Corporation; had it been a chapel, the property of the Corporation, it would not have shared the fate of all free chapels and chantries, which were dissolved by the act of 1st Edw. VI. c. 14, but would have come under the exemption in that statute, which was "not to extend or be prejudicial or hurtful to any Corporation of any city, borough or town within the King's dominions."* St.

* Ibid. sec 34.

Mary's was clearly a chapel belonging to a guild, but as Church and State were then closely connected, it may well have been associated with the Corporation. The Mayor and Corporation, it appears, provided a new manse in Frogmore for Sir John atte Stoke, chaplain of St. Mary, for which he was annually to render one red rose to the guild at midsummer. We are told that the Corporation attended the chapel of St. Mary's on their solemn law days, and on special occasions the chaplain was wont to preach a sermon. The same bell which summoned the Corporation to chapel, summoned them to their councils. The very priest of the chapel, if not the clerk to the Corporation, was the scribe who entered their records. He held his office during the pleasure of the corporate body, and his duties seem to have been divided between transcribing, and praying daily for the members of the guild.* The chapel is forgotten, but the priest's manse is still known as the Town House in All Hallows Lane, now called Churchside.

Since the publication of the "History of Wycombe" the peculiarities connected with St. Mary's Chapel have created some inquiries, as to the nature and position of free chapels and chantries amongst the readers of the volume; these inquiries may have been stimulated by the somewhat famous case relating to the Fitzalan chapel attached to the church of St. Nicholas, Arundel.† I propose therefore, to offer a few remarks on the subject of free chapels and chantries; and first as to the definition of those chapels. "Capella cometh from the French Chapelle, that is, Ædicula, and it is of two sorts, either adjoining to a church, as a porch of the same, which men of quality built *ut ibidem familiaria sepulchra sibi constituant*, or else separate from the mother church, commonly called a

* "History of Wycombe," p. 133.

† Duke of Norfolk *v.* Arbuthnots, L. R. vol. 4, C. P. D., p. 291. This was a Collegiate Chapel, consisting of a warden and twelve seculars or chaplains. The structural peculiarity of this chapel is, its connection with the church of St. Nicholas; in fact, to all appearance it is the chancel of the church; but ecclesiastically, as decided by Lord Coleridge, and which decision has been confirmed in the Court of Appeal, it is entirely a separate building, having no connection with the parochial part of the edifice. There are instances of somewhat similar peculiarities, notably the French Protestant Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral, without pursuing the point further.

chapel-of-ease, for the ease of one or more parishioners that dwell too far from the church."* Stavley says "the chapels contiguous to churches were as an addition to or parcel of the same, built by persons of wealth *ut ibi sepulchra vel sedes sibi et suis constituant.*" † Cowel's definition of a free chapel, however, is as follows,—"Which seemeth to be such as hath maintenance perpetual towards the upholding thereof, and wages of the curate by some lands charitably bestowed on it, without the charge of the rector or parish." See stat. 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4, 1 Edw. VI. c. 14. Another definition is, a chapel which is "free and exempt from all ordinary jurisdiction."‡ The *Libera Capella* appears to be capable of two definitions. (1) Either that it was a chapel within a parish, founded by the devotion and liberality of some pious person, in addition to the mother church, to which the parishioners were free to come or not to come, and endowed with maintenance by the founder, and thereupon called free; or (2) (and this is considered the most probable definition,) "that those only are free chapels, that are of the King's foundation, and by him exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary; but the King may license a subject to found such a chapel, and by his charter exempt it from the diocesan's jurisdiction."‖ Burns in his Ecclesiastical Law quotes from "the learned and accurate" Bishop Tanner; he says, "Free chapels were places of religious worship, exempt from all ordinary jurisdiction * * * * Most of these chapels were built upon the manors and ancient demesnes of the Crown, whilst in the King's hands, for the use of himself and retinue, when he came to reside there. And when the Crown parted with those estates, the chapels went along with them, and retained their first freedom." Some, however, Tanner believes to have been built and privileged by grants from the Crown.§ It is important to remark that not only had these chapels the privilege of exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, but the King might

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* Cowel's Law Dic.
† Stavley's His. of Churches in England, p. 110 *et seq.*
‡ Wood's Institutes, 31. ‖ See Reg. Orig., fol. 40, 41.
§ Tanner's Notit. Monast. Pref. 28. See also Gibson, 210.

license a subject to found such chapels.* Dr. Gibson says, however, that no instances are produced confirming this—"It is true that many free chapels have been in the hands of subjects, but it doth not therefore follow that these were not originally royal foundations."† By a constitution of Archbishop Stratford ministers who officiate in oratories or chapels, erected by the kings or queens of England, or their children, shall not need the license of the ordinary. The king himself by the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper visited all hospitals and free chapels, and not the ordinary.‡ But we shall not complete the definition we are upon without defining a chantry —*Cantaria.* "It was commonly a little chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral or parochial church, endowed with lands or revenues for the maintenance of a priest to pray for the souls of the founder and his friends."‖ Burns tells us, that "a man might make a chantry by license of the king without the ordinary; for the ordinary hath nothing to do therewith." Chantries, therefore, be it observed, might be classed with free chapels, in being capable of exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary; an exemption which, we shall presently see, seems to have been naturally associated with the chapels or chantries of guilds.

The more we investigate the position of Guilds in the middle ages, the more are we struck with the important hold they then had on society. A Guild was an association for mutual help; it was not founded like monasteries and priories for men devoted to what were deemed religious exercises. Priests might belong to it, but the guild was a lay-body.¶ Its purposes might be the support of a church, the ringing of bells, the keeping up of records, or the encouragement of crafts and trades.§ M. Bentano, in treating on the history and development of Guilds, and whose treatise is incorporated in Toulmin Smith's work, divides his subject into three heads—the religious (or

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* God. p. 145. † Gibson, p. 211. ‡ God. p. 145.

‖ Burns's "Ecclesiastical Law," vol. i. p. 213.

¶ See Toulmin Smith's "English Guilds," pp. 26 and 41.

§ In the ordinances of the Guild of the Holy Trinity of Cambridge it is expressly directed, that no priest shall have anything to do with the affairs of the Guild.

social) Guilds, the Town Guilds or guild merchants, and the Craft Guilds. The Guild at Wycombe would come more properly under the first classification. Now the duties of the religious or social guild would, he says, include "every exercise of Christian charity, and, therefore, above all things, mutual assistance of the guild brothers in every exigency, especially in old age, in sickness, in cases of impoverishment, if not brought on by their own folly, and in wrongful imprisonment, in losses by fire, water, or shipwreck, aid by loans, provision of work, and lastly the burial of the dead. It included further the assistance of the poor and sick, and the visitation and comfort of prisoners not belonging to the guild. And, as in the middle ages instruction and education were entirely supplied by the church, and were considered a religious duty, we find among the objects of religious guilds also the aid of poor scholars, the maintenance of schools, and the payment of schoolmasters." Such an enumeration of laudable objects would make us wish that our modern benefit societies should take a hint from similar institutions in our past history; true, the duties of some religious guilds would not commend themselves to this age; as an instance, in some statutes the only objects of the guilds were to stick candles on the altars of their patron saints, and before their images—true too, it would not be candid to pass over the ominous statutes, that occur against extravagant feasting and drinking bouts, and objectionable performances at their feasts; still it must be remembered, as M. Brentano says, "These fraternities were spread in the middle ages in great numbers over all countries under the sway of the Roman Catholic Church," and people of all ranks and conditions of life took part in these religious guilds, hence the obvious necessity of restrictive legislation.

Of the numerous objects of the various religious guilds, those of the Guild of the Lord's Prayer of York are certainly worthy of notice. It appears that a "Play setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer was played in the city of York, in which play all manner of vices and sins were set up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise." This play much pleased the people of York, and the guild was founded to keep up the play. Amongst the ordinances of the guild, it is directed that the

brethren were bound "to make and as often as need be renew a table showing the whole meaning and use of the Lord's Prayer, and to keep this hanging against a pillar in the said Cathedral church." "Also they are bound, as often as the said play of the Lord's Prayer is played in the city of York, to ride with the players thereof through the chief streets of the city, and more becomingly to mark themselves, while thus riding, they must all be clad in one suit;" in other words, they were to be in "livery," a word which to this day is closely associated with guilds.

Processions and pageants were very popular in York. It appears that in 1415 ninety-six separate crafts joined in the procession of the Guild of Corpus Christi. In this procession some of the subjects presented were from the Old Testament, and some from the New, whilst some of the crafts bore blazing torches. In a MS. in the British Museum there is a list of names of brethren and sisters of the Guild of Corpus Christi, amounting to no less a number than 14,850.

With regard to the objects of the Guild of St. Mary's at Wycombe, they appear chiefly to have been to supply a priest to say mass for the souls of the brethren and sisters living and departed; and to carry out those objects the members contributed lands, or money, or charged their lands with small annual payments (called the Lady Rents), and supplied a house or chamber for the mass priest. Mr. Riley has given several translations from the deeds in the Historical Manuscripts Report relating to Wycombe, which bear out these facts, from some of which I have already quoted.

The Exeter Guild seems to have been a very similar one to that of Wycombe. The following is taken from Toulmin Smith's work, showing the Agreement of that guild. "This assembly was collected in Exeter for the love of God, and for our souls need, both in regard to our health in life here, and to the after days which we desire for ourselves by God's doom. Now we have agreed that our meeting shall be thrice in the twelvemonths * * * * and let the mass priest at each of our meetings sing two masses, one for living friends, the other for departed; and each brother of common condition two psalters of psalms, one for the living and one for the dead, and at the death of a brother each man six masses or six psalters of

psalms; and at a death each man fivepence, and at a house-burning each man one penny." And after infliction of fines for neglects, and for "misgreeting" a brother, the agreement ends: "Now we pray for the love of God that every man hold this meeting rightly as we rightly have agreed upon it, God help us thereunto."

It appears that these guilds for the most part consisted equally of men and of women, "brethren and sistren." We have seen that they attracted people of all ranks of life, and I cannot forbear an apt quotation from Chaucer, for which I am indebted to the work just quoted. Speaking of pilgrims to Canterbury, who were all clothed in one livery, and were of the same guild, Chaucer says: "An haberdasher and a carpenter, a webbe, a deyer, and a tapiser were all y-clothed in o livere of a solempne and grete fraternite." But it is a striking fact that these religious guilds, like St. Mary's at Wycombe, and at Exeter, had their free chapel or chantry independent of parochial laws, free and untrammelled by the Bishop's authority, assuming that it was founded by the King; and we can understand that with this freedom the chapel itself came to be looked upon as peculiarly the property of the laity; at Wycombe it was even known as the Corporation Chapel.* As we have seen, frequent gifts of lands were bestowed for its maintenance, and the inventory of its ornaments discloses how lavishly the wealthier burghers enriched it with their offerings.

The connection between these free chapels and religious guilds opens out a subject of very great interest, a field yet to be explored by the antiquary; it carries us back to the earliest formation of a Christian community, when Rome was yet master of the world, and her ancient worship was still in the ascendant; it reminds us of the first efforts of a seemingly feeble brotherhood to unite together for common objects of the highest moment. With these observations the writer regretfully passes from a

* There are numerous instances of the close relationship between Corporations and Guilds. The municipal body in the city of Worcester is often spoken of as the "yeld" or "yield Marchant." ("The Ordinances of Worcester.") There was an intimate connection between the Craft Guilds and the Corporate body of the city of Bristol, the mayor of that city was possessed of a ministerial function in confirming the election of the masters of the Crafts. (No. 16, Articles of "The Office of the Mayor of Bristol.")

subject, which could only be effectively handled by one who has unlimited resources and leisure at his command, merely to add a few remarks on the confiscation of these chapels, and the consequent partial dismemberment of guilds in the reign of Edward VI.

The secret of the acquiescence of the nation in the spoliation of these chapels and their lands was no doubt the unpopularity that had grown around the doctrine of purgatory. The Acts of 37th Henry VIII. c. 4, and 1st Edward VI. c. 14, and particularly the latter Act, doomed "free chappelles, chauntries, hospitalles, fraternities, brotherhedd and guyldes." The London guilds were only saved by being trading guilds, and, with the exception of such guilds, the possessions of all others became vested in the Crown. There was not the same plea for the confiscation of guilds, as there was for the suppression of the monasteries. Many must have had, if their rules were at all conscientiously carried out, a beneficial influence on the community among whom they were established. Notably was this the case with the Palmers of Ludlow, one of those guilds that proves the antiquity of the institution, for we find that by the letters patent of 3rd Edw. III., confirming all that this guild had done, they speak of the guild as existing *ab antiquo.* Now this guild of the Palmers, in common with others, evidently revised its ordinances from time to time, so as to become more useful; and it must have been difficult for the commissioners appointed in 1546 to report on this guild, to give the reason for its confiscation, for we find that at the time of the reports the guild had, among other things, established a school with a well-salaried schoolmaster.

No doubt much of the indignation, which is expressed in reference to the wholesale plunder, that took place in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., is just: useful institutions were despoiled to gratify the rapacity of greedy courtiers; but it is only true to say, that many of the possessions of the guilds went to the founding of grammar schools, as was ostensibly the intention. Notably such was the case at Bury St. Edmunds, Spillesby, Louth, Shrewsbury, East Retford, and Birmingham, without adding further to the lists.*

* See Strype's Mem., tom. ii., p. 535; Rapin, vol. ii., p. 10, note 8.

The proceeds of the sale of the furniture of the Chapel of St. Mary, at Wycombe, were applied towards the erection of four almshouses adjoining the Royal Grammar School. The lands and possessions of the guild of St. Mary, called the Lady Rents, were by letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, granted to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, towards the support and maintenance of this grammar school and four poor persons. The school and the almshouses were erected on the site of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and with a few remarks on this hospital I will conclude this paper.

The hospital was founded in the twelfth century, and one of the objects at Wycombe most interesting to the antiquary, will be the ancient hall, supposed to have been built in 1175. The house of the master of the grammar school is built among the remains of this Norman pile. A fine massive pillar, taking us back in thought to the days of our Plantagenet kings, to the age of art rudely but surely developing into the beauty and grace of Early Gothic, stands in the centre of what is now the master's kitchen, a semi-circular arch is seen on ascending the stairs to the upper rooms; but we have an accurate description of the hall in the "History of Wycombe," from which I now quote.

"It was about sixty-two feet long, and appears to have consisted of a nave sixteen feet wide between the pillars, and side-aisles six feet wide, and stood, or rather stands, nearly north and south. There were three pillars on each side of the nave, alternately round and octagonal, supporting four plain semi-circular arches, thirteen feet in diameter * * * * Of the six pillars four remain; they are about two feet in diameter, eight and a-half feet high, including the capitals, which are ornamented with sculptured foliage and shells; and on one of them is a dragon, which has unfortunately lost its head. One pillar has disappeared entirely; of another the capital only remains, supported by a brick wall."

The present state of the arches is then described.

"The entrance to the hall is at the south end fronting the street; and some years since, on the plaster at the entrance being removed, four small transitional Norman capitals were discovered supporting a pointed receding arch; the shafts were gone, but have now been re-

stored." * The building at the east side of the hall, which has for many years been used as the schoolroom, was either the refectory or more probably the chapel of the hospital; it is twenty-four feet long by twenty-one wide. This building is of later date than the hall, there is nothing Norman about it; it still has one lancet and one decorated window in the north wall, which formed parts of the earlier building. We are told that the establishment consisted of a master and poor brethren and sisters, who were appointed by the burgesses, on the ground of poverty and sickness, the mayor and burgesses being the patrons of the hospital. The brethren and sisters took vows of chastity and obedience. The freehold in the hospital lands was vested in the master for life, who was always a clerk in holy orders.

After the dissolution, the hospital appears to have passed into private hands; it is doubtful whether a grammar school, though established in the reign of Edward VI., continued during the reign of Mary. Early in the reign of Elizabeth, the mayor and burgesses manifested a zeal and activity in obtaining the establishment of the grammar school on a royal foundation. On the 21st July, 1562, as a reward of their exertions, the queen, by letters patent, granted to the mayor and burgesses and their successors for ever the hospital and its lands, and also the rents which had belonged to the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary, and called the Lady Rents, being the guild I have previously remarked upon, the rents and revenues to be applied to the Royal Grammar School and four poor persons; by a charter of James I. the grant to the poor was augmented.

In the necessarily limited space allotted to a paper, I have been unable to do more than to call the reader's attention to a few interesting points, among the many, which naturally demand attention in the long annals of so ancient a borough town as Wycombe. To attempt to write its history meant the devotion of hours of patient research, and accurate and conscientious investigation, evidences of which are given throughout the pages of the "History of Wycombe," rendering the volume an important book of reference for years to come. Thus

* "History of Wycombe," p. 139.

much the writer feels that it will not be considered unbecoming in him to say. The book appropriately closes with sketches of the lives of eminent characters of Wycombe, worthies who have left their mark and passed away. The signs of the vitality of the old town, the increase of its staple manufacture, the extension of the borough itself, all point to a future history, which may perhaps surpass in interest its former annals, but the records of the past will be no unimportant guide to a coming generation.

THE HISTORY OF HUGHENDEN.

BY MR. R. S. DOWNS.

Hughenden is an extensive parish situated to the north of High Wycombe, the Church being distant about two miles on the road between that town and Aylesbury. The parish is about five miles long and three-and-a-half miles wide. Its Saxon name, which has been variously written Huchenden, Hochenden, Hychendene, Hutchingdon, Hitchenden, and which is now permanently fixed as Hughenden, very aptly describes its physical aspect, that is, an elevated plain pierced by valleys.

There is strictly speaking no village of Hughenden, the only houses near the Manor, besides the Vicarage, being the almshouses in the Churchyard; the rest are scattered in detached groups in different parts of the parish. The principal hamlets are Naphill, Kingshill, and North Dean, all situated at some considerable distance from each other, and from the Church. The boundary of the parish touches upon Hampden, Missenden, Penn, High Wycombe, West Wycombe, Bradenham, and Princes Risborough. Its eastern portion is in the Hundreds of Aylesbury; but the western part, including the Church, Vicarage, and Manor House, is situated in Desborough Hundred. The area of the parish, inclusive of a portion of Brand's Fee, is 5751 acres, and it contains a population of about 1800. Langley puts the extent at 7200 acres, and says that in his time, nearly a hundred

HUGHENDEN CHURCH.

(Photographed by S. G. Payne, Aylesbury, by Appointment Photographer to the "Bucks Archæological Society.")

years ago, there were 5,500 acres of arable land, 200 pasture, 1100 woodland, and 400 common, and that there were then 160 houses and about 900 inhabitants. The population 800 years ago was probably about 180.

The surface is undulating throughout, the country rising gently from the Wycombe valley, as we proceed northward, until we reach the table-land of Naphill, on a spur of the Chilterns, which attains an elevation of over 600 ft. above the sea level. Tinker's Wood, which crowns the hill on the western side of the valley towards Downley, obtained its designation from its having been chosen as a camping ground by those itinerant artizans, or, as some affirm, from the circumstance of a tinker having been found murdered there. Some years ago a silver penny of Offa, surnamed the Terrible, King of Mercia (757-796), was found in this wood, and another was picked up in West Wycombe Park. The wife of King Offa belonged to the family from which descended Geoffrey de Clyntone, on whom Henry I. bestowed the Manor of Hughendon.

The Hughenden Brook rises beyond Mr. Lee's farm, from several springs supplied from the hill above. It flows by the church, through the park, by Temple Farm, into the Wye in Oxford Road. The following reference to it from the *Itinerary* of Leland, the antiquary (1538) will be read with interest. He says—"Another Use or Ise as of one principal arme risith abowt Westewikam owt of one of the Chilterne Hilla, and so comith to Wikam, the Market Towne. The lesse arme is cawllid Higdenbrooke, and risith also in one of the Chilterne Hills, a mile above Wikam. Bothe these streames meete at the West Ende of Wikam, and thens the hole botom with one water goith to Hedsor, so to Owburne, wher the B. of Lincolne hath a fayre howse, and thos a mile and more into the Tamise."

Before the Norman Conquest, Hughenden formed part of the possessions of Edith, the Queen of Edward the Confessor. She was the daughter of Godwin, Earl of Kent, and consequently sister of King Harold, slain at Hastings (1066). Her father's history is one of those which fill the pages of the past with romantic incident. From a humble position he rose first by accident and afterwards by his own genius and valour to an equality

with monarchs, and he shares with the great Earl of Warwick the title of "King-maker." Queen Edith is universally represented as possessing great beauty and accomplishments. She had been brought up in the monastery at Wilton, and while there became remarkable for her acquirements. Ingulphus, the Croyland Chronicler, whose father resided at Court, tells us that when he was a boy she would stop him as he came from school, make him repeat his lesson, and ask him questions in grammar and logic. Bromton, another old writer, tells us that "her breast was a storehouse of all liberal science;" and Malmsbury calls her "a woman whose bosom was the school of every liberal art, though little skilled in earthly matters," and praises her for "the purity of her mind and the beauty of her person."

King Edward and Edith were married in 1044, according to the Saxon Chronicle, "ten days before Candlemass." They were both much beloved by the people; and the old monkish historians are profuse in their praises of them for their generosity to the Church. It is to the Confessor we are indebted for the glorious old Abbey church of St. Peter at Westminster. Edith appears to have had considerable property in England for her own private use, so that she was able to indulge her wishes in respect to pious donations and charities. Her estates were very numerous, and situated in almost every county in England. In this neighbourhood she held, besides Hughenden, High Wycombe and Little Marlow. As Brill was at that time a favourite resort of King Edward's, there can be I think very little doubt that the Queen might have paid a visit to this place, especially as the Mercian princes had a residence or hunting station in the vicinity, the tradition of which is still perpetuated in the name of the adjoining hamlet of Kyngeshall. Edith died at Winchester, 1074, and was buried at Westminster Abbey by the side of her husband. Hughenden was granted by the Conqueror to Odo, Bishop of Baieux, and when Domesday Survey (1) was taken it was held under him by William Fitz-Oger. According to that return the Manor was taxed for ten hides (about 1200 acres), the lord himself holding two carucates in demesne, while the other eight were distributed among three cottagers and fifteen villeins,

besides whom there were five bondsmen or slaves. There were also at that time about 200 acres of pasture land, forming most probably the original portion of the present park, and the woods, which were then more extensive than now, afforded pannage for six hundred hogs. Its value was £10, when received £6, and in the reign of Edward the Confessor, when held by Edith, £7.

Odo, Bishop of Baieux, first Lord of Hughenden after the Conquest, was the son of Herleve (Arlotte) the mother of the Conqueror, by Herluin de Conteville, whom she married after the death of Duke Robert, William's father, and was thus his half-brother. He attended William to England, and by his advice and example was instrumental in procuring the success of the Normans at Hastings, and William in return for these services raised him to the Earldom of Kent, the first office of trust and dignity conferred after the Conquest. He was likewise a Count Palatine, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and Grand Justiciary of England. In his county of Kent he held 184 lordships, and 255 in other counties, 26 being in Buckinghamshire. He died at Palermo, in Sicily, 1096, and was buried there in St. Mary's church by his nephew, Robert Curthose, who was on his way home from the Crusades. The seal of Odo in Domesday Book, on which he is represented as an earl on horseback, is supposed by Sir Henry Ellis to be the earliest specimen of a baronial seal in England.

Through the disgrace and forfeiture of the lands of Odo, the manor of Hughenden became vested in the Crown, and remained so until Henry I. granted it to Geoffrey de Clinton. This Geoffrey, who was Chamberlain to the King, is supposed to have been descended from the royal family of Mercia, and to have been the ancestor of the present Lord Clinton. He built the famous Castle of Kenilworth, immortalized by Sir Walter Scott, and having founded near it a priory for Black Canons, he gave *inter alia* the manor of Hughenden, *cir.* 1122, as part of the endowment to that house; although a (3) charter of confirmation of lands, etc., given to that establishment, *temp.* Henry II., enumerates the Church of Hughenden as being granted to it by Nicolas de Hughenden.

Since the Priors of Kenilworth continued to be Lords of the Manor of Hughenden, until the Dissolution, I subjoin a list of them:—

Hugh, temp. Henry I.
Bernard.
Robert, 1150.
Lawrence, temp. Stephen.
Walter, temp. Henry II.
Sylvester, 1202.
David, 1239, 23 Henry III.
Robert de Esteley, elected by Congè d'elire, Nov. 2, 1273, and had the temporalities restored to him Dec. 22nd following. Resigned 1277.
Richard de Tynclesford, Feb. 18, 1280.
Robert de Salle, Sept. 8, 1293.
Thomas de Wormyngton, June 13, 1332.
John de Peyto, April 2, 1335.
Henry de Bradwey, 1361. In 1387 the Prior de Kenilworth had a grant of free warren in his lands at Hughenden.
Thomas de Merston, 1395.
William de Brayls, 1400.
Thomas Kidderminster, 1402.
Thomas Holygrave, 1439.
John Yerdeley, May 2, 1458.
Ralph Maxfield, 1494.
William Wall, 1519.
Simon Jekys, the last prior, elected 1538, not long before the Dissolution, when, with sixteen monks, he surrendered his monastery to the King's visitors, April, 14, 1539, and had a pension of £100 per ann. allowed him.

Hughenden Manor and Rectory were granted by Henry VIII., Jan. 20, 1540, to Sir Robert Dormer, Knt., for the sum of £387. The Dormers are a very ancient family, and are descended from Thomas D'Ordmer, or Dormer, a Norman, who attended King Edward the Confessor on his return from Normandy in 1042. William son of this Thomas, subsequently came over with the Conqueror, from whom descended Sir William Dormer, Knt., who served Edward III. in his French wars. The family were tenants under the Bishops of Winchester at West Wycombe, from a very early period. Geoffrey Dormer, who lived temp. Henry VI., had a family of twenty-six, chiefly sons, who entered into Holy Orders, and the same Geoffrey had by Eleanora, his wife, *inter al.* a son also named Geoffrey, who married Judith, daughter of Robert Baldington, Lord of Thame. The issue of that marriage was another Geoffrey, who married Ursula, daughter and heiress of Bartholomew Colling-

ridge, the heir-general of Arundel, and descendants of the Fitz-Alans, of Hughenden. He left five sons, all of them possessing considerable estates in thi s county. One of them, William, who was his eldest son and heir, married, Agnes, daughter of Sir John Launcelyn, Knt., and had issue Robert and four daughters, and by will dated Sept. 12, 1506, directed his interment in the Church of West Wycombe, before the image of S. Lawrence, bequeathing £40 to the poor, £40 to the Church to buy a cope and vestment, &c., and £40 to mend the highway.

Robert Dormer, on whom Henry VIII. bestowed the Manor of Hughenden in 1540, was Sheriff of Bucks and Beds in 14, 23, and 30 Henry VIII., and received the honour of knighthood in the thirty-fifth year of the same reign, and several manors and estates by favour of that monarch. By his will, dated June 20th, 1552, he granted *inter al.* to Jane and Ann, his grand-daughters, £20 per annum each, out of his manors of Hughenden and Ravensmere for the term of their lives. William, his son and heir, was M.P. for Bucks in 1553, and was made one of the Knights of the Bath at the coronation of Queen Mary. He died October 2nd, 1575, and was buried at Wing. Robert Dormer was knighted in 1591, and made a baronet by James I., June 10th, 1615, and soon after advanced to the peerage by the title of Baron Dormer of Wenge (Wing). He died in 1616, and was succeeded by Robert, who married Sophia, daughter of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, and in 1628 was created Viscount Ascot (of Wing, in Bucks) and Earl of Carnarvon. During the Puritan rebellion he showed himself a brave and loyal subject of King Charles I., and was slain at the battle of Newbury, 1643. At the death of Charles, second Earl of Carnarvon, Nov. 29, 1709, Hughenden passed with his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, in marriage to Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Philip, in 1713, whose younger son, Sir William Stanhope, sold the estate in 1738, to Charles Savage, Esq., who bequeathed it in 1763 to his brother Samuel, who at his death in 1772, was succeeded by his nephew, John Norris, Esq., Sheriff of Bucks in 1775. At his death in 1786 the manor came into the possession of Ellen, Countess of Conyngham, widow of the first Earl

of Conyngham and niece of the above-mentioned Charles and Samuel Savage. The Countess was succeeded in 1816 by her nephew, John Norris, Esq., who died in 1845, and from whose executors it was purchased by the late Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield and Viscount Hughenden, who died April 19th, 1881, and by his will dated December 16th, 1878, bequeathed the estate to his nephew Coningsby, son of Ralph Disraeli.

The Manor, now called Brand's Fee, from the family of Brand, who held it in the thirteenth century, was anciently called Tilleberie, which signifies a stronghold on a tree crested height. This manor formed part of the vast possessions of Leofric, the powerful Earl of Mercia, whose wife was the famous Lady Godiva, so well known in connection with the story of Peeping Tom of Coventry. He died August 31st, 1057. Algar, the son of Leofric, had four children—a daughter, Aldith, who was married first to Griffith, a Welsh Prince, and at his death to Harold, the last Saxon king of England; and three sons—Edwin, who succeeded his father in the Earldom of Mercia; Morcar, who became Earl of Northumbria on the deposition of Tostig in 1066; and Burchard, buried in the Abbey of St. Remigius, at Rheims, in 1061. After the death of Harold, Edwin and Morcar appeared as candidates for the difficult post of King of England; but finding their claims disregarded, they took their sister Aldith, Harold's widow, from the Palace of Westminster, and repaired to York, with the intention of defending the northern provinces to the death against the Norman invaders; but upon hearing of the surrender of London, and William's coronation, they deemed it prudent to offer him their allegiance. The Conqueror, in order to secure their fidelity, promised Edwin one of his daughters in marriage, but failing to fulfil his promise, the two brothers suddenly left the Court and betook themselves once more to the north, and thence escaped to the Camp of Refuge in the Isle of Ely. After enduring incredible hardships, and wandering from place to place for six months, Morcar was treacherously seized and thrown into prison, and Edwin while attempting to rescue his brother, was betrayed by three of his officers and surprised by the Normans. Overpowered by superior numbers, he for a long time bravely defended himself against a host of assailants, but

was at last cut down — dying without fear as he had fought without hope. Thus perished in 1071 the last of a noble race, which for six centuries had given kings and war-chiefs to one of the most extensive and powerful kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

On account of the strenuous and protracted opposition which the Mercian nobles had offered to the Norman invaders, William seized their possessions and bestowed this part of Hughenden on a celebrated warrior who had accompanied him to England, and greatly distinguished himself at Hastings. His name was Nigel D'Albini, the founder of one of the most powerful and opulent families in England during the earlier portion of the Plantagenet period. Under him as his subfeudatory was one Roger, but who he was or who were his descendants, it is impossible even to conjecture.

From the account of this Manor in Domesday Book (2) we learn that Nigel D'Albini held, and Roger of him, Tilleberie, which was taxed for five hides; that there were altogether eleven plough lands, three being held by the lord himself, seven held by thirteen villeins and one copy-holder, and another might be made. There was pannage sufficient for twenty hogs. Altogether it was worth £7, when obtained, 100s.; in the reign of Edward the Confessor, when Turbert, a vassal of Earl Algar held it, £7. Earl Algar died in 1059; and was therefore succeeded by his son Edwin before the Norman Conquest. Edwin's lands were not forfeited till 1071; but since no reference is made to him in Domesday Book, it is evident that William's Commissioners, when they compiled that survey, must have consulted an anterior record as well as admitted oral testimony.

Nigel D'Albini was the younger son of Roger D'Albini by his wife Amicia, who was of the family of Mowbray. He is supposed to have adopted his surname from the venerable esteem in which he held the British proto-martyr, St. Alban, who suffered at Verulam, A.D. 303.

The D'Albinis were great benefactors to the Abbey of St. Alban, and a list of Religious Houses and Manors bestowed by them upon that establishment may be seen in an old MS. still preserved in the British Museum (Lib. Cot. Nero. D. 7). Richard D'Albini, fifteenth Abbot of St. Alban's (1097–1119), built the Chapel of St. Cuthbert

in the Conventual Church, and the Priory of Wymondham, founded by William D'Albini, Cupbearer to Henry I., was conferred upon the monastery during his Abbacy. The Cell of Beaulieu in Bedfordshire and the Chapel of St. Macutus were given to the Abbey by Robert, son of Henry D'Albini, and grandson of William, the Cupbearer.

Nigel D'Albini accompanied the Conqueror on the terrible expedition into Northumbria in 1069, when, on account of a rebellion which had been raised in that part of the kingdom, he laid waste the whole country between the Humber and the Tweed. After this rigorous suppression of the Northumbrian rebellion, William was crowned at York, D'Albini being present among other barons at the ceremony.

Upon the death of William I., in 1087, Rufus, his second surviving son, seized the throne, and at his death in 1100, Henry, the youngest son, succeeded; thus Robert, the eldest, was twice disappointed in his expectation to mount the throne his father had gained. Henry was not content with the possession of England, but coveted his brother's duchy of Normandy. He at first desired to purchase it, but Robert declined the proposal with disdain, and Beauclerc at once prepared to seize Normandy by force of arms. A battle was fought, Sept. 28, 1106, at Tinchebrai, about nine miles from the town of Mortain, whose castle Henry had besieged with a vast army. In the commencement of the battle the English were thrown into confusion, and bearing down all opposition, William Crispin, Count D'Evreux, fought his way to the English standard, and dealt the King so violent a blow on the head, that blood gushed from his mouth; while Curthose fought with equal courage and prowess. At Beauclerc's side, however, was the renowned Nigel D'Albini, bow-bearer to the King, who rushed forward to save his royal master, and having killed the horse of Duke Robert, he seized him and conducted him to his victorious brother. Henry, instead of making some friendly arrangement with his brother, ordered him to be forthwith conveyed to England. Here he was treated with great indignity, and confined for the rest of his life, a period of twenty-eight years, in Cardiff Castle. He died in 1135, and was buried in Gloucester cathedral, where his tomb may still be seen. For the great services

which Nigel had rendered him, Henry I. bestowed upon him the estates forfeited by Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland. Nigel died full of years and honour in 1134, and was succeeded by his eldest son Roger, who by command of the King, took the surname of Mowbray. He died soon after, and was succeeded by his son William.

William, grandson of Nigel D'Albini, known in history as "William the Strong Hand," was butler or cup-bearer to William II. and Henry I., from which office he obtained the name of Pincerna, and became the possessor of Arundel, by his marriage with Adelicia, daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Brabant, and widow of Henry I. After the death of Henry I., Adelicia resided chiefly at her seat at Arundel Castle, in Sussex, which had been conferred upon her as dower after the forfeiture of Robert de Belèsme in 1102, and it was there that she consented to become the wife of the Strong Handed D'Albini, one of the most chivalrous peers in Europe, and noted as much for his handsome personal appearance as for his doughty deeds of valour.

Roger D'Albini had before the Conquest been the chief butler or cup-bearer of the Duchy of Normandy, and William appointed him to the same office in England at his coronation in Westminster Abbey. The honour continued in his family, and by hereditary custom has descended to the Duke of Norfolk, his rightful representative, so that at her coronation banquet, the golden cup from which her Gracious Majesty, our present Queen, drank the health of her loving subjects, was presented to her by the descendant of the cup-bearer of William the Conqueror, whose family was for so many generations connected with this same village of Hughenden, that has been twice honoured by a visit from her Majesty.

It appears that D'Albini and Adelicia had been affianced some time previous to their marriage: for when he won the prize at the tournament held at Bruges in 1137, in honour of the nuptials of Louis VII. of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine, Adelicia, the gay Queen Dowager of France, fell passionately in love with him, and wooed him to become her husband, but he replied, "That his troth was pledged to Adelicia, Queen of England." The rejected and indignant Frenchwoman lured the

unsuspecting D'Albini into her garden, and pushed him into a cave or dungeon, where she had secreted a fierce lion to become the minister of her jealous vengeance. The redoubtable knight, if we are to credit Dugdale, thrust his hand into the mouth of the lion, and tore out his heart, which must have been conveniently situated for his purpose in a place where no anatomist would have thought of feeling for it. This exploit gained for him the surname of Strong Hand. There is another version of this popular romance in which the hero is said to have deprived the lion, not of his heart, but only of his tongue; and this is doubtless the true version of the tradition relating to William of the Strong Hand, since the Albini lion, on the ancient armorial bearings of that house, is tongueless, and is, by-the-by, one of the most good-tempered looking beasts ever seen. William D'Albini was not only a knight stout in combat and constant in loyalty and love, but history proves him to have been one of the greatest and best men of that age. He assumed the title of Earl of Arundel, and was created Earl of Sussex in 1155, and was Sheriff of Bucks and Beds in 10 Ric. I. and 1 Johan. Besides the princely Howards, Dukes of Norfolk, two of the most unfortunate Queens of England, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, wives of Henry VIII., were direct descendants of Adelicia, by her second marriage with William D'Albini. He left seven surviving children—William, Earl of Arundel, who succeeded to the honours and estates, Reyner, Henry, Godfrey, Alicia, married to the Count D'Eu, Olivia, and Agatha.

William D'Albini of the Strong Hand was succeeded by his son, William Earl of Arundel, who married Maud, widow of Roger de Clare, surnamed the Good, by whom he had issue two sons—William, who succeeded him, and Hugh—and four daughters. William, third Earl of Arundel, was one of the confederated barons who gained Magna Charta from the tyrant, King John, and his name occurs fourth in order of the lay barons who attested that famous document. He was besieged in Rochester Castle by King John and his forces in 1217, and a curious incident that occurred during the siege is related in the Chronicle of Matthew Paris: While King John and his counsellor, Savaric de Mauleon, were reconnoitring the Castle, they

were discerned by a bowman of great repute, who immediately addressed himself to William D'Albini, and besought his permission to aim at the sanguinary tyrant. "Nay, nay," exclaimed the baron, "far from me be the heavy guilt of compassing the death of the Lord's Anointed." "He would not spare thee," replied the archer, "if thou wert in like case." Then rejoined the baron, "That would be as the Lord pleases; the Lord disposes, and not I." In this did D'Albini resemble David, who in similar manner spared Saul when he might have slain him. At length, to quote Holinshed's Chronicle, "they within for want of vittels, were constrained to yield it up unto the king after it had been besieged the space of three-score daies. Thus the king spared William de Albiney and the other nobles and gentlemen, and sent them to Corfe Castle, and other places, to be kept as prisoners." His estates were not confiscated, and we accordingly find that the next lord of Hughenden, and last in the direct male line of this family that held the manor, was Hugh D'Albini, who succeeded his brother in 1196, and died in 1243 without heirs, when the estate passed by marriage with his sister Isabel to John Fitz-Alan, Lord of Clun.

The Fitz-Alan family derives its descent from Alan Fitz-Flaald, whom Henry I. made Sheriff of Shropshire upon the death of Hugh, son of Guarine the Bald, without issue. It is a disputed point among antiquaries who this Fitz-Flaald was; but it is supposed that he was the son of Fleance, son of Banquo by Guenta, daughter of Griffyth, King of North Wales, with whom he had sought refuge when fleeing from the vengeance of Macbeth. He married a daughter of Guarine, and from his second son Walter descended the royal house of Stuart. Alan Fitz-Flaald died in 1114, and was succeeded by his eldest son William Fitz-Alan, who married a niece of Robert, Earl of Gloucester. When the civil war, consequent upon the usurpation of Stephen, broke out, Fitz-Alan loyally adhered to the cause of the Empress Matilda, and was besieged by Stephen in Shrewsbury Castle in 1138, but making his escape he remained in exile till 1152. Upon the accession of Henry II., he was restored to his estates and the Sheriffdom of Shropshire, and the king conferred upon him in marriage Isabel de Say, the wealthiest heiress in that county. He died in

1160, and was buried in Shrewsbury Abbey, being succeeded by his son and heir William Fitz-Alan II., who died in 1210, leaving by his wife, a daughter of Hugh de Laci, his estates and honours to his son William Fitz-Alan III.

He was succeeded by his brother, John Fitz-Alan, the first of the family who held the Manor of Tilbury in Hughenden. By his marriage with Isabel, sister of Earl Hugh D'Albini, he became Earl of Arundel. He was succeeded in 1243, by his son, John Fitz-Alan II. who fought on the side of Henry III. at the battle of Lewes in 1264, and was taken prisoner by the victorious barons. He died towards the close of the year 1267, and was buried in the Abbey of Haughmond, leaving as his son and heir by Matilda de Verdon, John Fitz-Alan III. who married Isabel de Mortimer, and dying in the prime of life, he was succeeded in 1272 by his son Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, described in the Feodary of 1284 as possessor of this manor in Hughenden. He married an Italian lady by whom he had Edmund Fitz-Alan, who succeeded his father about the end of the 13th century. This Edmund married Alice Plantagenet, by which union his descendants became entitled to the Earldom of Warren and Surrey. During the civil commotions of the reign of Edward II. he was taken prisoner and beheaded by the barons at Bristol in 1326. He was succeeded by his son Richard Fitz-Alan II. whose brother John was Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor. Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, being with Edward III. in Scotland in 1335, and claiming to be Steward of Scotland by hereditary right, sold his title and claim to Edward for 1000 marks. So anxious was Edward to possess the title to the Stewardship of Scotland that he subsequently obtained a confirmation of this purchase from Edward Baliol. But neither his purchase of the title nor the confirmation of it were of any service to him, for Richard Fitz-Alan had himself no right to the Stewardship of Scotland. Walter, who was the first purchaser of this hereditary office, was the younger brother of William, the son of Alan, the progenitor of Richard Fitz-Alan, the claimant; and until all the descendants of the first holder of this office had failed, the claim could not ascend to the common father of the two families,

Robert the Stewart, son of Walter the Stewart and Marjory Bruce, being then in possession of the hereditary office of Stewart by lineal descent. Richard Fitz-Alan was beheaded at Cheapside in the presence of Richard II., and his spectre ever after haunted the monarch's dreams, so that he would start up in his sleep shrieking the name of Arundel. He married Philippa, widow of the Earl of Pembroke, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, eleventh Earl of Arundel, K.B., Lord Treasurer, whose wife was Beatrix, daughter of John, King of Portugal. His sister and co-heiress married her cousin, Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who was banished by Richard II. in 1398, on his challenging Henry Bolingbroke at Coventry, and died at Venice of the plague; his son was beheaded at York for conspiracy against the King. In the reign of Henry VI. this manor passed to Geoffrey Dormer, of West Wycombe, by his marriage with Ursula, daughter and heiress of Bartholomew Collingridge, the heir-general of Arundel and a descendant of the Fitz-Alans. The Dormer family has already been noticed.

There were several other manors in this parish which were incorporated with the principal manor in 1857, as far as manorial rights are concerned, when the waste lands and commons were enclosed. The Abbey of Missenden had a manor here, probably Uphall or Moseley, the former of which belonged to the Lanes in the early part of last century. In 1575 Henry Kynwellmershe had a grant of a cottage and meadow adjoining to the same in Hitchenden, parcel of the possessions of the Abbey of Great Missenden.

The Manor of Overhall and Piggotts is not distinguished in Domesday Book, or if it is, it has not been identified, nor is it mentioned in any very ancient records. In 1480 Dame Margaret Leynham sold it to John Morton, afterwards Bishop of Ely. In 1486 this prelate was raised to the Primacy, and in the following year made Legate of the Apostolic See, and appointed Lord Chancellor of England and Chancellor of Oxford; created a cardinal by Alexander VI., and died in 1500. He was succeeded by his nephew Thomas Morton, in whose family the estate remained a long time. In 1674 it was rated in a parochial survey, as in the possession of one of the Mortons, a descendant of

the Archbishop's family. Previous to this, however, it appears that the Manor of Piggotts had passed into the possession of the Windsors, and Edward, Lord Windsor of Bradenham, who died June 24, 1574, bequeathed it to his son and successor Frederick. After the alienation of the lands of the Mortons it was in the Sydenham family, and Richard Sydenham, Esq., was sheriff of Bucks in 1726. After his decease it passed by purchase to John Hampden, Esq., the 24th hereditary lord of Great Hampden, and last in the direct male line of that ancient family. After his death, February 4, 1754, it passed to Lord Trevor, created June 8, 1776, Viscount Great and Little Hampden. He died August 22, 1783, leaving his son Thomas, second Viscount, lord of this manor. It is now united with the principal manor.

Upon Pigot Common, in May, 1795, a labourer, in throwing up a bank, discovered 24 Roman copper coins in an earthen vessel about 18 inches below the surface. Some of them belonged to the reigns of Trajan (A.D. 98 to 117), Hadrian (A.D. 117 to 138), Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161 to 180).

I think there can be little doubt that the present mansion occupies the site of the ancient Manor House of the old lords of Hughenden. The church was built by the lord of the Manor within his own demesne, which accounts for its situation in the park. Although the present house has a modernised appearance, increased by its being uniformly whitened on all sides, yet the forms of its architecture suggest that some portions of the edifice are much older than others. It is a square building with two square wings, and stands on a gentle eminence commanding an excellent view towards Wycombe. On either side of the mansion the lawns are very tastefully laid out and planted, and it is here that the peacocks of which Lord Beaconsfield was so fond strut and scream. The lawns are planted with choice flowers, exotic shrubs, and a great variety of the pinus tribe. The entrance to the private grounds is by the "Golden Gate." Here may be seen some specimens of the Cedars of Lebanon, produced from seed brought by Lord Beaconsfield from Palestine. On the northern side of the house is a tree planted by the Prince of Wales during his two days' visit last year, and on the south lawn are two fir trees planted respectively by the Queen

and Princess Beatrice on the occasion of Her Majesty's visit to Hughenden in December, 1877. From the north front a path leads past the east wing to the terraced side of the house, through an arch cut in a screen of yew trees. The entrance hall has a groined ceiling and communicates with the library and the drawing room. In the dining room, which is a fine spacious apartment, there is a very curious arch formed by the intermixture of the pointed and horizontal styles. This arch is a reproduction of one, unique in its character, at Magdalen Hall, Oxford—to which foundation a former proprietor of Hughenden, the elder John Norris, was a benefactor. The drawing room contains a half-length portrait of Her Majesty, which she presented to Lord Beaconsfield on his seventieth birthday, and in a panel of the chimney-piece a portrait of the Viscountess Beaconsfield surmounted by her coronet. But the library is the room upon which the great interest of the house is centred. It is a large gaily decorated apartment opening upon a delightful lawn, and contains an extensive library of historical and classical works. It was here that Earl Beaconsfield passed the greater portion of his time after the completion of his morning's work in the study, which is situated in the upper part of the house. The walls are adorned with two drawings in Indian ink by the wife of one of the Professors, illustrating the late Earl's reception at Glasgow University, of which he was installed Lord Rector in 1873. The hall and staircase are thickly studded with portraits of the friends and colleagues of the late statesman, including the late and present Lord Derby, the Marquis of Salisbury, Earl Cairns, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Rowton, &c. The present house was probably erected by the Dormers, and much enlarged by the elder John Norris about a century ago; but without destroying its chief Tudor characteristics.

One portion of the wooded ground, called the German Forest—so named by the late Earl—is specially worthy of notice. This spot is backed by Hughenden Wood, one of the most extensive in the county. There are also in the vicinity Great and Little Tinker's Wood, and another called Millfield Wood. The little bright "babbling brook" which meanders through the park, though too small to be entitled to the name of a river, yet, with its

little cascades and rustic bridges, lends a pleasing charm to the landscape, as it races on its way to join the Wye at Wycombe. Upon its banks formerly stood the old "Flint Mill." It is well known that the late Earl had a great partiality for high sounding titles, and accordingly was wont to designate this brook "the ancient river Kishon." In a clear open spot between the two Tinker's Woods stands an obelisk erected by the late Viscountess Beaconsfield to the memory of Isaac Disraeli, her husband's father, and the author of "Curiosities of Literature." There is also at the base an inscription to the memory of her ladyship, the other two sides being still vacant.

There was formerly a considerable extent of common land in Hughenden; but a greater portion of it, comprising several hundred acres, was enclosed at Kingshill in 1853, and at Naphill in 1859, which has consequently greatly increased the value of the manor.

Kingshill (formerly spelled Kyngeshall and Kingshull) is a small but increasing hamlet situated upon a considerable elevation, about three miles from High Wycombe. The principal residence in the neighbourhood is *Uplands,* a large semi-castellated Gothic building erected in 1859. About a mile distant, on the verge of Wycombe Heath, formerly stood the old mansion belonging to the Montforts, called *Rockhols* (so written in the parochial register of Hughenden). Langley calls it *Wreck Hall,* and says that it had long been in the possession of the family of Widmer. The name is derived from the Norman family de Roquille, and the house, pulled down about the end of last century, was a fine old building surrounded by a moat. The only portions of this ancient and historic edifice are some shields bearing the family arms. Rockhol's farm now belongs to *Brand's House,* a neat modern villa residence, situated among well-disposed park-like grounds. When the ancient mansion of Rockhols was pulled down several remnants of antiquity were removed, and some of them were used in the erection of a cottage called Sladmere House, in which was the inscription in brass confirming the memorandum that two children of Richard Wellesburne of Kingshill were buried at Hitchenden more than 300 years previously to the statement so made in the parish

register. Langley mentions numerous armorial bearings which were formerly in the house, although in his time only one—that of France and England, quarterly, remained in good preservation. Some of them were in the hall window, some in the chamber window, some carved on the mantelpiece, and others on the stones of the tower. Among them was the griffin and a lion rampant with two tails, holding a child in his mouth, found upon the effigies in the Montfort Chapel in Hughenden Church.

The most populous district in the parish is *Naphill*, which adjoins West Wycombe parish. Its name is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Nap*, the peak or summit of a hill, and is sometimes written Napple. A National School (mixed) was erected here in 1862, and enlarged in 1873, providing accommodation for about 100 children. The building is a neat Gothic structure comprising school and class-rooms, with a residence for the mistress adjoining. *Walter's Ash*, a continuation of Naphill Common, is the extremity of the parish in this direction, and is distant three miles from the church. Here an excellent, hard, finely-grained stone is quarried, which is used for building and paving purposes. *North Dean*, as its name indicates, is pleasantly situated between two wooded hills, about two miles from the church. On or near a manor in this parish called Overhall, there has doubtless been a chapel, though the existing notices of it are very slight. There is a meadow still bearing the name of Chapel Platt, and an eminence that of Chapel Hill, and the name of "Chapellhill" occurs in the Hughenden Court Roll of A.D. 1654. A chapel of ease standing on a hill here would have been very conveniently situated for the hamlet of North Dean. The schoolrooms at Naphill and Kingshill are used for weekday services and on Sunday evenings during the winter months.

Deadman-Danes Bottom is the name applied to a deep valley between two clay covered chalk hills near Wycombe Heath. In 1831 a battle axe was found here with several human bones. These relics certainly do seem to give some support to the story that a skirmish took place here, in which both sides fought with great vigour and determination; and although the English maintained the struggle with fortitude and some show of

success at first, they were finally overpowered and slaughtered to a man. There is another version which I will give presently. The head of the axe, mentioned above, is much eaten with rust, and its edge blunted as if having been brought into violent contact with skulls of extraordinary thickness. It is said, but with little degree of probability, that there was a goodly castle called Berrypit about a quarter of a mile from the hollow causeway, wherein dwelt men of mighty stature, who possessed instruments of torture to punish invaders on their domain. The locality, like all others associated in the popular mind with the ferocious Danes, must of necessity have its legends of enormous and cruel giants, who delighted in deeds of blood, intermixed with the reports of horrifying stories of ghosts and goblins and unearthly noises.

Some ancient traditional appellations, which appear to have connected the vicinity of this place with the Danes, have been immemorially preserved here. At various periods, but more particularly in the years 1826, 1827, and 1828, a considerable number of Roman coins have been discovered here; few of them of great scarcity or value, or which could help to elucidate the period of history to which they more especially belong, and were deposited in the collections of Mr. John Norris, of Hughenden House, and other gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

In 1826, a labourer, in trenching a piece of garden ground which had been reclaimed from the common near Hazlemere turnpike-gate, brought to light a small urn containing four small silver coins in good preservation, and three copper coins much defaced. Within a stone's throw of the spot, about six months afterwards, the brother of the said labourer in digging up some mould for his garden, hit upon an arch of flints, supported by two side walls, about the size of a common grave. The arch was not more than three feet long, and near it were several more side walls, similarly constructed. Several portions of broken Roman tiles were found, pieces of urn, some of burnt and some of unburnt pottery, and fragments of millstones, which had been thrown out by the labourer from the places he had opened. Some of the tiles were square, like paving tiles, others had one edge turned up

about an inch. There can be but little doubt that the place had been a Roman burial ground.

On April 25th, 1828, one Cox, a labourer living at Hazlemere, found an old iron battle axe much corroded, in digging at Deadman Danes Bottom. He struck accidentally upon the crown of an arch of flints without mortar, about eight feet long. The side walls were about eighteen inches high, the floor quite level, and covered with a dark coloured substance. Upon this floor lay a human jaw bone with teeth in it, a shoulder blade, and a hip bone, an iron battle axe with a wooden handle about six feet long. Upon exposure to the air the wood crumbled to dust, and four or five inches of the iron handle broke off in lifting it up.

This interesting discovery was made within a quarter of a mile from Deadman Danes Bottom, in the parish of Hughenden, bordering on Penn Wood, where there exists a tradition that a company of Cambo-Britons, journeying southward, gave their assistance to the inhabitants of the district in a skirmish with the Danes, so as to turn the victory in their favour, and that the Welsh subsequently claimed by prescriptive right to depasture their herds of cattle near this valley, when proceeding to the metropolitan markets. The solitary interment of the Pict, having no relation whatever to the presumed battle on the verge of Penn Wood, in no degree diminishes the value of the suggestion that the conflict here might have been between the Danes and the Saxons.

Another version of this discovery was given in the *Bucks Chronicle* of May 10, 1828, in which, after describing a grave of flints about eight feet long, four wide, and three deep, it is stated that they found the remains of a skeleton, the bones of the clavicles and pelvis appearing to be perfect; but upon exposure to the air soon crumbled into dust, that eight molars remained perfect in the upper jaw (whence the subject was inferred to be not much past the middle age), and that a large battle axe lay by the side of the skeleton, of which the handle appeared entire until it was exposed to the air, when it also crumbled into dust; but that a large stone, supposed to be a personal ornament, weighing more than a pound, with the iron head of the battle axe, was purchased and deposited by Mr. Norris in his collection at Hitchenden

House; the inference being that this was an ancient British interment, and the stones called portions of millstones, that most formidable weapon of the ancient British or Pictish warriors, appended to a staff, spear, or battle axe, of the aboriginal inhabitants.

The chief historical associations of Hughenden are undoubtedly those which cluster round the honoured name of Simon De Montfort, Earl of Leicester, whose youngest son, Richard, settled here some little time after the battle of Evesham, 1265. The tradition connecting Hughenden with that great family to which England owes so much has been faithfully preserved here.

Simon de Montfort was the son of Simon, Count de Montfort, and Amicia, heiress of the Earldom of Leicester. His father was chosen by Innocent III. to be the leader of the persecution directed against the unfortunate Albigenses, and was slain at the siege of Toulouse, June 25th, 1218. The eldest son Almeric, was heir of the county of Montfort, and for some time Simon, the second son, remained portionless—the Earldom of Leicester having been forfeited on account of the adherence of the family to the party of Louis the Lion in the wars which followed the signing of Magna Charta. In 1232 Simon came to England to recover his mother's inheritance, and by his graceful manners soon ingratiated himself into the favour of the king, Henry III. In 1238 he married the king's sister Eleanor, widow of the stout Earl of Pembroke. By royal favour, and the formal cession of his brother Almeric, he obtained the Earldom of Leicester, and became a leader among the barons as well as a favourite with the King; and in 1239, when Edward, heir to the Crown, was baptized, Simon was one of the nine godfathers. Montfort's popularity seems to have rendered the fickle King jealous, and he was expelled from the kingdom. Having placed his wife in safety in France, he proceeded to the Holy Land, where he greatly distinguished himself, and when he returned the King had apparently forgotten his displeasure. The next ten years were passed in peace by the Earl and his Countess at the castles of Kenilworth and Odiham, and in attending to the affairs of Gascony, of which province Simon was governor. Their five sons were brought up as play-fellows with their royal cousins under the tutorship of the greatest scholar of the age and

a bishop of this diocese (Lincoln), Robert Groteste; while the noble Earl stood equally well in the affections of the sovereign and of the people.

In 1252 the Earl of Leicester was summoned from Gascony, to answer various charges of maladministration. A quarrel ensued between him and the King, and he was forced to give up his government of that province, which was conferred upon Prince Edward, then only fourteen years of age. In 1258 the Mad Parliament assembled, by which a council of twenty-four barons was appointed to govern the country; and another at Oxford passed the celebrated *Acts of Oxford*, by which the King was bound to respect the Charters of Liberty. For four years the Committee of Twenty-four held power with few fluctuations, until they attacked the property of Henry's brother, the popular Richard, King of the Romans. The dispute was referred to Louis IX. of France, whose judgment, though perfectly just and moderate, was rejected by the barons, and open war commenced soon after between them and the royal party. The King and Prince Edward marched to seize the Cinque Ports, and while in Sussex Leicester followed them, and a battle ensued at Mount Harry, near Lewes, May 13th, 1264. The army of the Barons advanced from their camp at Fletching in three divisions under De Segrave, De Clare, and De Montfort, whom Henry proudly challenged with the words, "Simon, je vous defye." During the battle Prince Edward fiercely charged upon a body of Londoners, and having put them to rout, pursued them with great slaughter to Croydon. This hot pursuit had lost the day, for, when Edward returned, he found the royalists defeated, and the King of the Romans a prisoner, Montfort threatening to strike off his head if the attack were renewed. To save his life a treaty, called the *Misse of Lewes*, was agreed to by which Prince Edward and Henry D'Almayne, son of the King of the Romans, gave themselves up to the Barons as hostages for their fathers, and were confined in Dover Castle. In the next year Edward contrived his escape; and, gathering the royal forces together, met the Barons at Evesham. In the battle which followed, Henry De Montfort was slain at his father's feet, and the Earl, seeing that, grasped his sword with both hands, rushed into the thickest of the fight, and was struck down and slain. Edward caused

Montfort and his son to be brought to the Abbey Church of Evesham, and there they were buried, and a splendid tomb was erected over their remains.

> "Hail! Simon de Montfort, hail!
> Knighthood's fairest flower;
> England doth thy death bewail,
> Whom thou didst shield with power."—*Old Ballad.*

Thus perished "Sir Simon the Righteous," a man of the highest endowments and principles of rectitude uncommon in his age. He was enthusiastically beloved by the English people, especially by the Commonalty, who delighted to call him their "Darling." He was indeed a noble character, but unable to resist the great temptations which his power and influence placed in his hands. Let the poet point for us all a moral from the history of his life:—

> "If ever in temptation strong,
> Thou left'st the right path for the wrong;
> If every devious step there trode,
> Still led thee further from the road;
> Dread thou to speak presumptuous doom
> On noble Montfort's lowly tomb;
> But say he died a gallant knight,
> With sword in hand, for England's right."

There were two distinct families of Montforts and two of Wellesbourne. The De Montforts, Earls of Leicester, were descended from Robert, King of France, by Agnes Noyon, his concubine; and did not come into England until King John's time. The Montforts of Beldesert were descended from Thurstan de Bastenberg, whose son Hugo de Montforte came over with William the Conqueror. Simon de Montfort, slain at Evesham in 1265, had six sons, Henry, Simon, Almeric, Guy, Richard, and Edward, who died young, and a daughter, Eleanor. Henry, the eldest son, was slain at his father's feet at Evesham. Simon, Earl of Oxford, the second son, after holding Kenilworth Castle for a time against the royal forces, was obliged to surrender, and being excepted from claiming any benefit under the *Dictum de Kenilworth*, finally fled to the Continent in 1266. Almeric, Amaury, or Aymer, the third son (fourth according to Dugdale), was at first a priest at York and afterwards chaplain to the Pope; he embraced the military profession, became a knight and died abroad about 1283. Guy the fourth son (third

according to Dugdale) was taken prisoner after the battle of Evesham, and having escaped, fled into Italy to join his brother. Eleanor was married at Worcester in 1278 to Llewellyn, the last King of Wales, but died two years after at the birth of her daughter, named Gwendolin, and was buried at Llandmais. After the battle of Evesham, Montfort's widow was generously treated by the King and Prince, and retired beyond sea to the monastery of Montargis, with her sons Almeric and Richard, and her only daughter Eleanor. Simon and Guy appear to have been of a very turbulent disposition, and after leaving England they wandered about the Continent brooding over revenge for their father's death. Simon married a French lady, and was Count of Bigorre in France, where he became the founder of a family bearing his patrimonial name. Guy married in 1270 the daughter and heiress of Aldobrandini, an Italian, Count di Ruvo, and resided at Viterbo, where he and Simon murdered the brave and accomplished Henry D'Almayne, eldest son of the King of the Romans, then on his return from the Crusades, 1271. He had entered the church of St. Sylvester to hear mass, when the two sons of Montfort rushed upon him and slew him at the foot of the altar; then dragged the corpse to the door of the church, and rode off. D'Almayne's body was conveyed to England, and interred in the Abbey of Hales. Before Prince Edward returned to England, he obtained from Pope Gregory X. justice upon the murderers of his cousin. Simon was dead; but Guy was excommunicated and outlawed. His sentence was, however, afterwards changed at his own request to imprisonment, and after a confinement of eleven years he was liberated, and returned to his wife's estate, 1282. He subsequently joined the wars in Sicily, but what became of him afterwards is not known. He was Count of Anglezia, and progenitor of the Montforts of Tuscany.

There is a curious legend concerning Henry de Montfort, which asserts that he was not killed at Evesham, but only deprived of his sight by the blow which felled him at his father's feet; and being found by a baron's "fayre daughter," she conveyed him secretly to a place of safety, and having nursed him back to health, became at length his wife, and the happy mother of one child, the "prettie Bessee" of ballad lore. Some say that they removed to

the neighbourhood of London, where Henry was known for years as the Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green; while others, with quite as much probability, assert that he came to live here at Hughenden with his brother. "Bessee" grew up to be a very beautiful young lady, and of course was courted by many suitors, who, however, appear to have thought more of the setting than of the gem, and upon learning that she was a blind beggar's daughter, they in turn took their departure.

> "Nay, then," quoth the merchant, "thou are not for me;"
> "Nor," quoth the inn-holder, "my wife shalt thou be;"
> "I lothe," said the gentle, "a beggar's degree,"
> "And, therefore, adewe, my pretty Bessee."

Still matters were not so bad as they seemed, for at length "Bessee" found a gentle knight whose love was stronger than his scruples, and proof against both the discovery of her father's condition and the entreaties of his friends. The gallant knight, in modern phraseology, proposed and was accepted; and to his surprise the blind beggar counted out so large a sum as a dowry for his daughter that the knight, upon being challenged to do so, could not double it. On the wedding day the beggar revealed his own high birth, and declared his identity with Henry Montfort, supposed to have been slain at Evesham, to the general joy and consternation of all present. Trusting that pretty Bessee and her gallant knight lived "happy for ever after," we will bid her and her noble father "adewe," simply remarking that it seems almost a shame to have to confess that such a simple, touching narrative has no real foundation in fact. A very interesting little work founded upon this story has been written by Miss Yonge, entitled "The Prince and the Page."

Richard, the youngest son, appears to have inherited the better qualities of his father, and to have avoided the extravagances of his three elder brothers. The last Crusade was preached at Northampton, June 25th, 1269, by Cardinal Ottobon, brother of Percival de Lavinia, Archdeacon of Buckingham, after which he gave the cross to Henry III., the Princes Edward and Edmund, Henry D'Almayne, and many others. Edward sailed from Dover August 20th, 1270, and hastened to join the forces of St. Louis of France, under whose flag Richard

EFFIGY OF RICHARD WELLESBOURNE. Date 1286.

From "Notes on the Effigy of Richard Wellesbourne Montfort in Hughenden Church."
By kind permission of A. Hartshorne, Esq.

de Montfort had taken the cross. At the conclusion of the Crusade Richard returned to France, and thence to England in 1274. He assumed the name of Wellesbourne and retired to this secluded spot at Rockhols, on the verge of Wycombe Heath, away from the political turmoils which had made his father the leader of a popular party, and, subsequently, of a civil war. As before mentioned, it is to the Earl of Leicester that we owe the origin of our present House of Commons. In 1265 he called a Parliament to which two elected members from every county and borough were to be sent, and thus was the originator of the principle of a representative Senate to regulate the affairs of the State, upon the same plan as had been adopted by the Church in her Synods and Convocations from time immemorial. The boroughs in Buckinghamshire at that time entitled to send representatives to Parliament were Amersham, Aylesbury, Buckingham, High Wycombe, Marlow, and Wendover. Wycombe is the only one which has sent them continuously from the beginning to the present time.

The history of Richard de Montfort, otherwise Wellesbourne, is very confused. Dugdale makes no mention of him whatever, and in Brooke's "Catalogue of Nobility" it is stated that both he and his brother Edward died young. There is no mention of him in any of the Inquisitions nor in the Patent Rolls; but from the Close Rolls of 1264 we find that the King granted to Richard de Montfort, son of Simon, Earl of Leicester, fifteen head of deer in Sherwood Forest to stock his park. Although the precise locality of Richard's estate is not known, the reference clearly proves the existence of such a person, and that he was alive in the same year that the battle of Lewes was fought; and in favour with the King at the very time when his father and elder brothers were in open war with the crown. Langley supposes that Richard assumed the name of Wellesbourne from a place in Warwickshire belonging to the Montforts of Beldesert, called by Dugdale "Wellesborne-Montfort." This conjecture possesses some degree of probability, and is supported by the heraldry on his effigy in the church. But if this Richard had nothing to do with the Manor of Wellesbourne, and as he assumed not only a name, but also a coat of arms, it is far more likely that he married

an heiress of that name, who brought with her the property upon which they resided in this parish; for his father's property had been confiscated on account of his rebellion. There is ample proof that the family of Wellesbourne did settle in this neighbourhood, and had property in High Wycombe as well as Hughenden. The house in Church Side, Wycombe, now called the Priory, was formerly the residence of members of this family, and long known as Wellysborne House. There is a charter (4) printed in Nichol's "History of Leicester," which shows that a son of Simon de Montfort had property in Hughenden, and that the consent of his wife was deemed necessary to the validity of the deed, which seems to indicate that he obtained his property by marriage. It is worthy of notice that the Wellesbourne and Montfort seals are both appended to this deed, which confirms the supposition that Richard married a Wellesbourne heiress. The deed is witnessed *int. al.* by Simon de Hughenden and William Brand.

The following is a copy of an entry in one of the old parish registers of Hughenden :—

"Memorandum, Nov. 1, 1690. Yt in ye Isle or Chancell belonging to Mr. Richard Widmer, of Hitchenden House, there was a brasse inscription taken of one of ye tomb stones, wch certified yt 2 children of Richard Wellesbourne, of Kingeshall, were buried there above three hundred years agoe, whose names were formerly Montfords, as ye inscription specified.

"Witness my Hande,

"JOHN JENKINS, Vicar.

"The brasse was stolen away in October, 1690."

I think it will be patent to every one who reads the above account of Richard de Montfort that Simon, Earl of Leicester, had a son named Richard, that he had property upon which he resided at Hughenden, and that he assumed the name of Wellesbourne. But if we consider the arms on the seals affixed to the deeds I have mentioned, and compare them with those on the effigies in the church, we are enabled to establish more clearly the identity between the Montfort-Wellesbourne family, and the persons there commemorated. I subjoin a list of the Wellesbourne family mentioned in history :—

Richard Wellesbourne, the youngest son of Simon de Montfort. He fled to Hughenden after the battle of Evesham, and resided at Rockhols, having assumed the name and arms of Wellesbourne.

Richard Wellesbourne, mentioned 1 Edward II., 1307 (5). He is thought to have been either the son or grandson of the former.

John Wellesbourne, M.P. for High Wycombe in the 8th, 25th, and 27th years of the reign of Henry VI.

Thomas Wellesbourne, M.P. for High Wycombe in the 17th year of Edward IV.

Edward Wellesbourne, became Master of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, in High Wycombe, in 1493.

Humphrey Wellesbourne, Mayor of High Wycombe in the 11th, 12th and 13th of Henry VII.

Oliver Wellesbourne, of West Hannay, in Berkshire, son of the above-named Thomas, who was the last of the family that resided at Hughenden.

THE CHURCH.

The venerable edifice is, from its historical associations, one of the most interesting in the whole of this "historic county." Its connection with the family and descendants of the great Earl of Leicester, who lie buried within its sacred precincts, invests it indeed with a national importance, and recent events have given it almost a cosmopolitan character. Most intimately are its memories interwoven with the name of the great statesman whose social qualities procured for him the name of Sir Simon the Righteous, whose patriotism and keen foresight conceived and carried into execution the most astounding political innovation England or any other country ever witnessed, and which has left its mark upon every civilized nation of the world: and though he did not live to see realized in fact the new principle in the English Constitution which his writ summoning the Commons to Parliament introduced, his name will nevertheless be handed down to future generations as inseparably connected with the constitution and the origin of our House of Commons. In a vault at the east end of this church now repose the remains of Lord Beaconsfield, one of the greatest statesmen this present age has produced, whose successful Parliamentary career will be chiefly remembered in connection with that very assembly originated by the immortal De Montfort.

The church is dedicated to SS. Michael and All Angels, the only one so named in this deanery, although there are altogether twelve in other parts of the county, mostly situated in the northern and central districts. It stands on a gentle slope in a quiet secluded spot in the Park, corresponding in that respect with another celebrated Buckinghamshire church—Stoke Poges—"the country churchyard" where Gray wrote his beautiful and graceful "Elegy." On entering the churchyard, where "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep," everything speaks of the most reverent care being bestowed upon this "God's Acre," this field sown with immortal seed, this "garden of the Lord" planted with flowers—the fittest and most lovely emblem of the Resurrection. The whole tone of the spot is one of beauty and calm serenity, "all the air a solemn stillness holds."

As we enter the churchyard from the west the first object that arrests our attention is an old yew tree on the left of the path as we descend. This is probably one of the two yews which we learn from the Parish Register were planted by John Jenkins, Vicar, in 1691.

A stranger, seeing the Church now for the first time, would at once conceive the idea that it was an entirely modern edifice, so thorough and extensive was the restoration, or rather, I should say, rebuilding, which it underwent a few years ago. Langley, in 1797, thus describes it—"The church is an ancient irregular building, consisting of a nave and chancel of one pace, about 90 feet long and 18 feet wide, and has nothing in it worthy of notice. Between the church and chancel stands the tower, in which are four bells. In the burial ground, adjoining the chancel, are some very ancient monuments." The remainder of his account is taken up with inscriptions, and a short description of the Montfort effigies. In *Ecclesiastical Topography of Great Britain*, published in 1849, is the following from the pen of W. Caveler, Esq., Architect, compiled especially for that work:—"Chancel, north aisle, nave, with south porch, tower on north side. Some parts of the tower are E.E., but some of the windows and other portions are P.; there is a plain N. doorway in the porch. At the east end are two curious three-light D. windows, and at the west end a very good P. window of four lights; there are also one

or two single-light E.E. windows remaining. There are some good effigies of knights, supposed descendants of Simon de Montfort. A good brass of a priest (Robert Thurloe), A.D. 1493."

The following is a description of the building, which I wrote in 1874 just before the work of restoration was commenced, and will afford a pretty accurate idea of the appearance and condition of the old church at that time. I omit all particulars relative to windows, monuments, etc., which still remain unaltered:—"the sacred edifice consists of a porch, nave, without aisles, chancel, north chapel, and a low massive tower, with walls of extraordinary thickness. It is a very ancient structure, and by some asserted to have been of Saxon architecture, cruciform with a central tower: but without leaning to the susceptibilities of those who are inclined to assign an extraordinary high antiquity to any object which they describe, we may pronounce it to be a Norman edifice of about the middle of the twelfth century, with alterations and additions of subsequent dates. It was without doubt erected by the lord of the manor, whose residence crowned the hill to the westward; either by Geoffrey de Clyntone, on whom Henry I. bestowed the manor; or by a certain Nicolas of this parish, who is said to have given the Church to the priory of Kenilworth, founded by the aforesaid Geoffrey. The oldest part of the church is the nave, which still retains many of its Norman features, as for instance, the font, arches, and doorways; but the Montfort Chapel and the Tower are in the Early English style of the thirteenth century, and coeval with the transept-like portion between the original nave and the present chancel. The original chancel was entered by a low rounded arch, and probably was not so deep as the present one, and was doubtless removed at the time of the erection of the Montfort Chapel, the nave being at the same time continued eastward by the quasi-transept, the place of the chancel arch being occupied by an ugly beam covered with stucco, and the chancel deepened to the level of the Chapel. The declination of the chancel from a straight line with the nave is symbolical of the bowing of our blessed Lord's head upon the cross, and is a feature of many old churches. The Tower, though in the same style throughout, appears to have been erected

at two different periods, the lower story being considerably older than the upper. It stands at the north-east angle of the nave, between that part of the Church and the Montfort Chapel: it contains a peal of four bells, and is about 20 feet square. The roofs are tiled, except that portion of the nave adjoining the tower, which is covered with lead. The building is 92 feet long by 18½ feet wide.

"The entrance to the Church is by a plain Norman doorway, above which there is a square sundial, bearing date 1837. On either side of the inner door of the porch were plain columns with ribbed capitals; but at present only one remains—on the right-hand side. The large font is Norman, circular in shape, and sculptured with a series of trefoiled arches, and above them a border of foliage. It has been subjected to a whitewashing process; but most of it has been removed. The Chancel is on the same level as the Nave, and contains three good windows filled with stained glass by Williment. The Sanctuary is small, and raised only one step above the Chancel, from which it is divided by ugly wooden railings. There are no structural sedilia, their place being supplied by two fine old oaken chairs placed on the south side of the Sanctuary. The Altar is of oak, and the window sill at the back is utilized as a re-table, on which are placed a cross, two vases of flowers, and the Two Lights. The west window is a very good Perpendicular one of four lights: there are two double-light windows in the same style on the south side of the Nave, and a small one, blocked up: on the opposite side two very small Early English windows of a single light. The pulpit is plain, and of wood. Above the Tower arch is an old tablet with the royal arms in brass. The side chapel, in which the organ is placed, contains many interesting memorials of the great Montfort family. The window in this chapel is a decorated one of somewhat peculiar pattern. A large archway leading from this chapel has been blocked up."

I have not been able to discover the ancient monuments adjoining the Chancel mentioned by Langley; but there are a few very old and quaintly-worded tombstones remaining, and as their inscriptions are nearly obliterated, it will be well to place them on record before they become

past deciphering. To the west of the Church on the headstone—

Here lieth the Body of
Robert Terry, sen., of ye Parishe
of Little Missenden, who
Died Octo. ye 20th,
1720. Aged 86 yeares.

On the footstone of the same, probably written by his son, who lies near—

Death Vncontrold Summons
who can fly,
Youth may escape perhaps,
but old must dye.
O aged Father who so much
Thy friend,
As death who brought Thee
to thy sudden end.

The headstone of the next grave is gone. It probably contains the remains of the wife of the above. At the foot is the following—

Reader Redeem thy Time,
take home this line,
The grave yt next is opend
may be thine.

On the headstone of the next grave—

Here lieth the Body of
Robert ye son of Robert
Terry, who dyed in ye Parish
of Wadsdon, Sept. ye 14, 1774,
Aged 44 yeares.

At the foot—

Death stalks behind thee reader each hour
Does soon close the remnant of thy power ;
Live thee so well yt thou maist die so too.
To live well is all thou hast to do.

There are two small slabs at the entrance to the porch bearing the dates 1694 and 1775, probably the footstones of some old graves. I noticed only one of that hideous type which has the crossbones and death's head displayed above the inscription. It is on the south side of the Church, and commemorates a former churchwarden—

Here lyeth the Body of Mr.
William Russell
of Widmer End in this Parish
who died in September 1694.
Aged about 73 yeares.

There is not much of that churchyard doggerel so often met with in some places; but on a rail near the yew tree,

which commemorates Martha Louch, who died in 1827, we read—

I in life afflicted was
With grief and painfull sore;
But hope to find a place of rest,
With Christ for evermore.

Nearly opposite the Tower door there are two unhewn blocks of stone with this brief inscription—

J. M. (Joseph Mason)
1797.

Another stone commemorates a Romish Priest of the Order of S. Francis—

Hic Jacet
R. P. Antonius Parkinson
O.S.F. Obijt July,
1766. R.I.P.

There are several inscriptions commemorative of the Guy family. One of them to the memory of John Guy, of Icomb, Gloucestershire, who died in 1837, contains these curious lines—

In coffin made without a nail,
Without a shroud his limbs to hide,
For what can pomp or show avail,
Or velvet pall to swell the pride?
Here lies John Guy beneath the sod,
Who loved his friends and feared his God.

He had his coffin made and kept it in his house several years before his death. In the south part of the Churchyard are several neat crosses to the memory of members of the families of Young, Atty, and Hussey; and nearly opposite the south door a plain marble stone is inscribed to "Little Aubrey," infant son of the Rev. J. R. Piggott, a former vicar of Hughenden. The adjacent yew tree was planted by Mr. Piggott in 1838. Cedric Henchman Clubbe, the infant son of the late Vicar, is commemorated by a neat cross a little further to the west. There are no graves visible on the north side of the Church. People had, and I suppose many still have, a dread of being buried in that part of the Churchyard—the Devil's side, as it used to be called.

There are two pieces of garden ground at the western extremity of the Churchyard and divided from it by low hedges. They are both portions of the consecrated burial ground, and ought properly to be included with the rest of the churchyard. Hughenden is the last place where

we should have expected to find part of God's Acre enclosed and planted with cabbages and potatoes. Yet so it is; and it came about in this way. On May 1, 1693, John Jenkins, who was then Vicar, gave a portion of the Churchyard to the parish clerk for a garden, and this was succeeded by a similar act of desecration in 1814, when Matthew Booker, Vicar, on Nov. 7th of that year, following the evil example set him by his predecessor, gave another portion of the Churchyard to another parish clerk; and so it has continued. It is satisfactory to know, however, that this matter has not been allowed to pass unnoticed by the authorities; for we find Archdeacon Justly Hill directing that those portions of consecrated ground should be restored to the Churchyard in June, 1828, and again in May, 1831.

Having thus surveyed the Churchyard and noted a few of the principal inscriptions, it is time now to turn our attention to the church itself. The earliest known mention of it occurs in one of the old registers of Missenden Abbey, in the time of Henry II., and in an old Latin deed of the same reign. In the "Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ" of Pope Nicholas IV. (1291) are the following entries respecting this Church and Vicarage:—

Eccl'ia de Huchendene, Val. xxx. marc. (£20).
Vicar' ejusd.', Val VI et dim. marc. (£4 6s. 8d.)

In 30 Henry VIII. the advowson was granted to Robert Dormer, his heirs and assigns for ever, for the tenth part of a knight's fee and 43d. In the following year Hughenden Manor, Farm, and Rectory were returned as part of the possessions of the late monastery of Kenilworth, and estimated at £20 per annum. The living is a discharged Vicarage, in the gift of the Lord of the Manor, and rated in the *Liber Regis* at £8 17s. 6d. Langley states that the living in his time was worth £68. The vicarial tithes have been commuted for £339 13s. 11d. which is the present annual value of the living. The Countess of Conyngham left £3333 stock, from the dividends of which the Vicar of Hughenden and four poor clergymen of this county, whose livings were below £100 a year, should receive the sum of £20 annually. It is generally stated that the Rectory was, from the time of Henry I. to the dissolution of the Monasteries, part of the possessions of the Priory of Kenilworth, to which it is said

to have been granted by the founder of that establishment, Geoffrey de Clinton. But I am inclined to think from the evidence of the document previously quoted, temp. Henry II., and from the fact that the first Vicar of whom we have any record as being presented by the Prior of Kenilworth does not occur till 1275, that the Manor of Hughenden only was granted by Geoffrey de Clinton to the Priory of Kenilworth, and that the church was the gift of a subsequent benefactor to that house. However that might be, it is certain that the Rectory, as well as the Manor did belong to that monastery, and were returned at the Dissolution as part of its possessions.

In the will of Thomas Gregory of Peterley, in Great Missenden, who died June 6, 1689, is the following:—"I give and bequeath unto the Poore Howsekeepers of the Parish of Hitchenden, that live not of the Parish Collection, ye sum of 40s. a year for ever, to be payd duely out of my messuage, house and land, at Knife's Lane in Brandstee, in ye Parish of Hitchenden, by my executors; whereas I appoint, and my will is that my said messuage, house, and land belonging thereto, called Knife's, shall stand ingaged for the payment of the said money as aforesaid for ever. Dated 20 Jan. 1689, proved at Aylesbury, 29 March following. Entered into the Register of Hitchenden, ye 7th of April, 1691, by me, John Jenkyns, Vicar."

A monumental effigy in this Church is engraved in Stothard's *Monuments of Great Britain*, p. 36; the font, an early gravestone, with cross, and four effigies in Lipscombe's *Bucks*, Vol. III., pp. 588-591; the five Wellesbourne Tombs and the "Fasting Monk" in Langley's *Desborough Hundred*; the effigy of Richard Wellesbourne in A. Hartshorne's notes upon the same, and in RECORDS OF BUCKS, Vol. III., p. 17, with descriptions; while the engravings of the church, lately given in the *Graphic* and *Illustrated News*, have made it generally known.

The names of the incumbents of this church, which have been preserved to us are as follow:—

RECTORS.

Richard de Alesberie, occurs in the Missenden Register, in 1190.
Robert, 1246.
Robert de Fremingham, the last rector, succeeded by

VICARS.

Richard de Sadyngton, presented March, 1275, by the Prior of Kenilworth
Robert Bowles, presented July 1, 1299, by the same. Resigned 1307.
Everard de Campden (? Hampden), presented Feb. 7th, 1307.
Walter de Hutchingdon, pres. Dec. 3, 1317.
William.
John de Horwoode, pres. Sep. 12, 1349.
Thomas Hearne, resigned 1415.
William Sanerval, pres. Dec. 9, 1415; exchanged for Piddinghoe, Sussex, with
Aunger Timberland, pres. April 5, 1419; exchanged for Ratcliffe, with
William Thede, Dec. 2, 1421.
John Trafford, res. 1447.
John Woburne, pres. Oct. 30, 1447.
John Kynge, pres. March 13, 1452, res. 1454.
William Reyson, LL.B., pres. Feb. 26, 1454, res. 1455.
William May, pres. Nov. 28, 1455.
Robert Thursbey, pres. March, 22, 1465. Died Jan. 15, 1493, and was buried here before the Altar.
William Keeting, A.M., pres. March 30, 1493.
Robert Coo, pres. Feb. 4, 1540, by Sir Robert Dormer, Kt.
William Green, collated Jan. 13, 1559, by the Bishop on lapse.
Robert Lane, pres. 1569, by Sir William Dormer. Buried here.
Hugh Lane, pres. April 4, 1574, by Sir William Dormer. Buried here.
Samuel Land, pres. 1611.
Robert Burkett, pres. April 11, 1617. Buried here, in wool, according to Act of Parliament.
James Phillips, pres. 1657. *Intravit* 1658, *quando Oliverus tirannus obiit.*
Clement Cheney, A.B., pres. Sep. 26, 1681, by the Earl of Carnarvon. Resigned 1687.
John Jenkyns, A.M., pres. Nov. 16, 1687, by Philip, Lord Stanhope.
John Batchelor, A.M., pres. Aug. 11, 1713, by Philip, Lord Stanhope. (Also Rector of Radnage, to which he was presented by George I., Jan. 22, 1725.)
Thomas Dolben, LL.B., pres. Jan. 3, 1765, by Samuel Savage, Esq. (He was Rector of Ipsley, in Warwickshire, but held this living till within a short period of his death.)
Matthew Booker, pres. Aug. 19, 1795, by George III.
Robert Eyres Landor, A.M., inducted Sep. 22, 1817, on presentation of John Norris, Esq.
Frederick Vincent, pres. 1825, by the same. Resigned 1835.
Henry Stebbing, A.M., pres. Nov. 21, 1835, by the same. Resigned.
John Robert Piggott, A.M., pres. April 26, 1836, by the same. Resigned 1851.
Charles Whishaw Clubbe, pres. 1851, by Benjamin Disraeli, Esq. Resigned Nov. 13, 1868.
Henry Blagden, pres. Jan. 30, 1869, by the same.

In the reign of Henry VII., the Vicar of Hughenden had a town house in High Wycombe. It stood in the High Street, on the side where Mr. Leadbetter's wine vaults are now. Robert Thursbey is the only Vicar interred here, of whom any monument remains.

The Parish Register begins Feb. 4, 1559. The earlier portions have apparently been re-copied. In 1875 the Parish Clerk (W. Hussey) found in the churchyard an ancient bronze candlestick with three legs, two of which, however, unfortunately got broken off. Candlesticks were formerly what the name really indicates, that is, they were constructed with a sharp point on which to stick the candle, and not, as at present, with a hollow for its insertion. The late clerk held office for nearly half a century, from March 1, 1833, to Dec. 18, 1879.

The old church had been for many years in sore need of restoration; the hand of Time had made sad havoc with the fabric during the seven hundred years it had existed, and although it was not actually tumbling to pieces, it was certainly in a most deplorable and dilapidated condition—the nave especially. The old massive tower used to project into the church, and necessitated the erection of unsightly supports in the interior, interrupting the view and spoiling the general effect; whilst a wooden beam, that at some former restoration had been substituted for the ancient chancel arch, and according to the tastes of the times duly stuccoed, with various additions of brickwork, completely marred and obscured the original design. The old floor was paved with red brick, much worn, and very uneven. In fact, the fabric required a thorough restoration from floor to roof, and in 1873 it became evident that something must be done. Mr. Blomfield, architect, of London, was consulted, and he recommended that the tower should be removed, and the nave rebuilt throughout, as, after a careful and minute inspection, he found it to be beyond repair. A munificent offer from J. Searight, Esq. (Mrs. Blagden's father), in reference to the necessary expenses of the undertaking, enabled the Vicar to commence active steps towards attaining so desirable an end.

The Feast of SS. Michael and All Angels, 1875, will long be remembered as a red letter day in the annals of Hughenden, and in the history of its parish church, as the day on which the restored and beautified shrine was re-opened. The Bishop of Oxford was celebrant, and preached the Sermon in the morning, and there was Evensong and Sermon by the Archdeacon of Buckingham (Purey-Cust) at 3 p.m. After Morning Service there

was a public luncheon in the temporary building, at which the late Lord Beaconsfield presided as lord of the manor and patron of the living.

During the progress of the demolition of the old walls, traces of two previous rebuildings were discovered, probably alterations introduced in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, with additions of more modern work. The church as it now stands is a very different structure from the older edifice, although the restoration was carried out in the most conservative spirit possible under the circumstances, and, as far as the proposed alterations would permit, upon the old lines. The Montfort Chapel and the Chancel were not rebuilt, but the walls were restored and strengthened. The portions of the church which were obliged to be entirely rebuilt were of Norman and Early English architecture. The other part being of Decorated Gothic, the restored portion was made to assimilate to that style of architecture, that the new parts of the building might the more harmoniously blend with the old. The style adopted in rebuilding is that known as the Flamboyant or later Geometrical Gothic. The stained glass which formerly filled the window over the altar was removed into the Montfort Chapel, and new tracery inserted in its place. But the window which claims the most admiration is the noble one at the west end of the nave, in which every effort that skill and art could bring into requisition has been laid under contribution to produce a mass of elaborate and beautiful tracery, which, although the figures do not assimilate so decidedly as in some older examples of the same style, may be pronounced a most successful reproduction in design of the tracery of that period when English architecture was exhibited in its most magnificent and stately beauty. In the south wall of the nave there are two double-light windows, and one of three lights. In the north aisle the windows are of the same design, but square-headed.

The principal entrance is now, as before, by a south porch; but another entrance has been added at the west, under the tower. The tower is square and massive, and, like the rest of the building, flint with stone dressings, and is surmounted by a small spire. It has an embattled parapet, eight two-light belfrey windows and gurgoyles

at the four angles, and a stair turret at the north-east. The height to the battlements is fifty-six feet, and the spire eight feet more. There is now a peal of eight bells. Four of them were removed from the old tower, two were added when the church was restored, and two are the gift of Robert Warner, Esq., Bell Founder to Her Majesty. Two of the bells are ancient, and although they bear no date, it is evident from the style of the lettering of their inscriptions, and the coins engraved upon them, that they must be at least five hundred years old. The following table shows the date and weight of the bells:—

Tenor	Edward III.	.....	12 cwt.
Seventh.....	,,	.....	8 ,,
Sixth	1663	.....	6½ ,,
Fifth	,,	.....	6 ,,
Fourth	1875	.....	5½ ,,
Third	,,	.....	5½ ,,
Second	1881	.....	5¼ ,,
Treble	,,	.....	5 ,,

They all bear inscriptions. On the tenor, "Christi Baptista Campana gaudeat ista;" on the seventh, "Sancta Maria ora pro (n) obis;" on both, "R. L." probably the founders' initials. The sixth and fifth have only the names of the churchwardens, "Annanias Wright and William Rusel," and the founders' initials, "H. K.," with the date. The third and fourth bells have the founders' names alike on both—"Mears et Stainbank, London, Fecerunt, 1875." On the third bell the inscription is "Laudate Dominum omnes eius angeli;" on the fourth, "Dominum campanæ clangore laudate." On the second and treble bells is this inscription in raised letters —"Cast by John Warner & Sons, London, 1881. In memory of the Earl of Beaconsfield. Presented by Robert Warner, Esq., bell founder to Her Majesty Queen Victoria." On one bell the following lines are inscribed:—

"Year by year the steeple music
O'er the tended graves shall pour,
Where the dust of saints is garnered
Till the Master comes once more"

On the other:—

"Christian men shall hear at distance
In their toil or in their rest,
Joying that in one communion
Of one Church, they too are blest."

These two new bells were dedicated on 20th August of the present year, by a special service in the Tower Porch, conducted by the Vicar, Rev. H. Blagden.

The roofs are all tiled, the old material (as far as circumstances would permit) being replaced. Above the door in the tower there is a scroll bearing the following sentence in Gothic characters:—"The Lord is in His holy Temple." Of the two carved heads, which are placed one on either side of the door, that on the north side represents the Bishop of Oxford. Above the south entrance is the sacred monogram, where, in the old porch, the sundial was fixed, and on the gable is a stone cross. There is a seat on each side within the porch. The ancient Norman font, repaired and cleaned, still occupies its former position opposite the entrance from the porch. The nave is paved with Godwin's encaustic tiles in black and red, and seated throughout with open seats of varnished deal. An arcade of three pointed arches upon octagonal pillars with plain capitals divides the north aisle from the nave. The roof is open, of varnished deal. The pulpit stands in the nave on the south side: it is of oak, and has a very handsome dependium of cloth of gold, the gift of Miss Aldridge, formerly of Hughenden Vicarage. The very handsome brass lectern on the other side was the gift of G. H. Hussey, Esq. The Bible was the gift of Mrs. John Norris, of Clifton. The building is warmed in winter by a heating apparatus constructed by Messrs. Haden, of Trowbridge.

The chancel is raised one step above the nave, from which it is entered under a beautiful lofty arch of Bath stone through a light iron screen, by Shrivell, of London, the jambs of the old arch being retained. This portion of the church has been very judiciously and tastefully renovated. The places of the ugly old pews formerly here are now occupied by neat oaken choir stalls, and the floor is laid with plain encaustic tiles. Lord Beaconsfield's seat was at the west end on the north side. A single rail of oak supported by iron work encloses the sacrarium, which is raised two steps above the rest of the chancel, and paved with ornamental tiles of the most elegant description. There is a sedile and stone credence on the south side of the sanctuary. The chancel roof is of wood divided into square panels, and the portion immediately

over the sanctuary is ornamented with conventional roses and lilies, the rest being stained in black and red, relieved with sage green. This ornamentation was executed by Messrs. Heaton and Butler, of London, and was the gift of the present Archdeacon of Buckingham. In fact, in point of number and completeness of the ornaments of the church, and their elegant and costly character, this is second to none in the whole county; everything is good and in perfect taste, and as far as an earthly temple can be, worthy of Him to Whose honour and glory it is dedicated.

Three stained glass windows have been inserted on the south of the nave since the restoration. As the church is dedicated to SS. Michael and All Angels, the series of designs which have been prepared for the new windows all contain subjects connected with the appearances of angels recorded in Holy Scripture. The whole of them were decided upon at the time of the restoration, and had the approval of Lord Beaconsfield. It is hoped that the west window, illustrating the appearance of angels in the Old Testament, will be completed during the present month. The remaining window on the south is also promised by the Undergraduates of Oxford, and it is proposed to place the patron saints of the United Kingdom in the windows of the north aisle—SS. George (England), Andrew (Scotland), David (Wales), and Patrick (Ireland)—with their appropriate emblems.

The new windows are by Clayton and Bell, and are soft and subdued in colour, and graceful and reverent in treatment. The window nearest the pulpit depicts a series of events in connection with the history of S. Peter. In the head of the window, contained in separate divisions of the tracery, beginning from the top—(1) the letters S. P. entwined, (2 and 3) the two keys, (4) S. Peter with the keys, (5) with the sword. The scenes illustrated are (1). The miraculous draught of fishes. Our Blessed Lord is standing on the shore; Peter and Andrew in a boat near in an attitude of wonder and amazement. Beneath the figures is the text, "Follow Me, and I will make you fishers of men." (2). Our Lord's pastoral charge to S. Peter—"Feed My lambs; feed My sheep," which is written below. Jesus stands with the two keys in His left hand, His right hand extended, and

resting upon Peter's shoulder, who is kneeling before his Divine Master. On Peter's right are seen James and John. (3). The deliverance of Peter from prison into which he had been cast by Herod, as related in Acts xii. The angel has Peter by the right hand, and is urging him forward. Below is the legend "Cast thy garment about thee, and follow me." Along the bottom of the window runs this inscription—"To the Glory of God this window is placed as a memorial of affectionate gratitude to James and Sarah Elizabeth Searight, by their children and sister. January IV., MDCCCLXXX."

The window nearest the porch is of two lights and depicts:—(1). The Annunciation of our Lady. The Blessed Virgin is seen kneeling before a prayer desk upon which lies an open book; a light is streaming down from the Holy Dove upon her head; at her feet springs the Lily. Her head is turned towards Gabriel, who appears on her right bearing the Angelic Salutation on a scroll, "Hail thou that art highly favoured." (2). Beneath is the appearance of the same angel to S. Joseph in a dream, with the legend "Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife." (3). In the other light is depicted the appearance of Gabriel to Zacharias in the Temple, who is kneeling before the altar with a censer in his hand. (4). Underneath this is the appearance of the heavenly host to the Shepherds on the Plains of Bethlehem. On a neat brass plate is this inscription—"To the Glory of God and in loving memory of James Williams, Esq., of High Wycombe, who died May 30th, 1853, aged 68. Also of Henrietta Catherine, his wife, who died June 27, 1855, aged 78. Also of Ann, wife of James Walker Williams, Esq., of St. John's, High Wycombe, who died November 23, 1872, aged 37."

The new east window just inserted is of a Decorated design of three lights. In the centre of the head there is a triangle containing the sacred monogram, and upon the sides of this figure there are three other triangles, each containing an angel with a scroll inscribed "Sanctus." On these latter triangles are described three circles containing emblems of the Holy Trinity—the sacred Hand, Agnus Dei, and the Holy Dove. All these figures are enclosed within a circle of glory. Contained within another circle, in the central light is depicted our

Blessed Lord crowned, and seated upon His throne, His right hand raised in blessing, His left holding the orb of sovereignty. At His feet are the Seven Spirits before the throne. The side lights contain a series of subjects from the Te Deum, in which the Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Doctors of the Church are represented in a posture of adoration before the God Incarnate. Along the bottom of the window is the following inscription :—"In affectionate remembrance of the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G., this window was erected by his devoted friends, Lord Rowton, Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, Bart., and Sir Philip Rose, Bart. 1881." Special services were held in connection with dedication of this window on Sunday, Sept. 4th, 1881, when appropriate sermons were preached morning and evening by the Rev. Father Congreve.

The Montfort Effigies.

The most interesting remains of antiquity which this church contains are the sepulchral monuments in the north chancel aisle, commonly known as the Montfort Chapel. They consist of five effigies of members of the Wellesbourne family of Hughenden, and an emaciated figure in the south-west corner. We may safely affirm that no other church in this county, and very few throughout the whole kingdom, contains such important memorials of the past as we have here in these five effigies. Besides the historical points involved, they exhibit an interesting display of heraldic bearings scarcely to be equalled in any parish church, and present an almost unique example of the development and growth of heraldic devices, extending over a period of more than a century and a half. We have here, too, a very striking delineation of ancient costumes and the different kinds of armour worn at the time when the figures were executed. These monuments apparently retained their original positions until 1818, when John Norris, Esq., of Hughenden Manor, had them cleaned and placed where they were before the late restoration, when some further alterations were made once more as to their disposition.

No. I.—The most striking of these monuments is that attributed to Richard Wellesbourne. It formerly lay

in the north wall, under a pointed arch. Mr. Norris, in 1818, removed it, and had it placed in the middle of the chapel, on a sort of altar tomb, upon which was the following inscription: "The ancient sepulchral monuments in this chancel are supposed to commemorate a younger branch of the family of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who married Eleanor, daughter of King John, and was slain at the battle of Evesham, 1265. Eleanor and her four sons were banished; but history says that Richard, the youngest, returned to England, and took the name of Wellesbourne, and an entry in an old register in this parish, signed by the then Vicar, states that in October, 1690, a brass inscription was stolen off one of the tombstones in this chancel which recorded the burial of two children of Richard Wellesbourne, of Kingshall, above three hundred years ago, whose names were formerly Montfort. The effigy of the crusader probably represents the first-named Richard, whose paternal arms were a lion rampant with two tails; why the child, cross, and crosslets, as sculptured on this shield, were added, does not appear. The arms on its breast, a griffin with a child in its claw and chief cheque, belong to the name of Wellesbourne; and as they have descended to his posterity, it may fairly be inferred that he married an heiress of that name, and of the property on which they resided here, although we have no other evidence of the fact. Another opinion is that Richard assumed the name from the manor of Wellesbourne, in Warwickshire; but it is quite clear that this manor belonged to the Montforts of Beldesert—a totally different family. Yet their arms occur on several of these tombs, although no intermarriage appears in Dugdale's pedigree of the Beldesert family—a puzzling circumstance. The two families were great friends and allies in the Civil Wars, in the time of Henry III., and Peter, the head of the Beldesert family, was killed in the battle of Evesham with the Earl of Leicester. A John Wellesbourne was Member for Wycombe in the 8th, 25th, and 27th of Henry VI., and Thomas in the 17th of Edward IV., who, it appears from Ashmole's "History of Berkshire," left this place and resided in West Hannay. Their ancient mansion was pulled down about fifty years since, and four stone shields of arms which belonged to the old

house, and have been built up into the new one at Four Ashes, seem to be all that remains without these walls to tell the story of these descendants of the Plantagenets. J. Norris, F.F., 1835."

Langley asserts that this tomb represents Henry de Montfort, who re-obtained the manor of which his father had been deprived by Henry I. in 1107, for that family resided at Beldesert, near Henley-in-Arden, in Warwickshire; although according to Dugdale they had different arms, viz., Bendè of ten Or and Az., and were of a different family. The above-named Henry de Montfort was grandfather to Peter, who was slain at Evesham, and had his estates forfeited. His eldest son, likewise named Peter, however, was allowed to take advantage of the "Dictum de Kenilworth," and to redeem his estates. He was taken into favour by Henry III. and Edward I., and attended the latter in his wars for the subjugation of Wales.

The figure is executed in light red stone, and is the most life-like and best cut of the whole series, and is justly admired for its striking delineation of expression and the combination of vigour and repose which it exhibits. It has its legs crossed, which, together with the three crescents sculptured at its feet, point to the fact that the person here commemorated was a crusader.

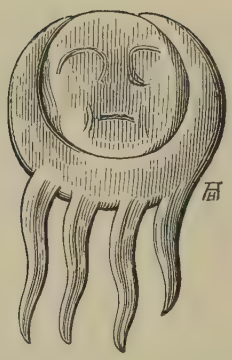
The tomb on which the above inscription was cut was very properly removed during the late restoration, as it formed no part of the original monument. The figure represents a man in the usual military costume of the end of the thirteenth century. He has on his head a skull-cap or helmet of iron, over which is the coif extended below the chin on to the breast, where a portion of the gambeson is displayed on the right side, the other portion being covered by the shield. He wears a ponderous, long, broad-bladed sword, with seven shields of arms upon the scabbard. In his right hand he grasps a dagger, attached by a thin cord to the cingulum or belt, which confines the surcoat at the waist, where it fastens with a buckle. Another belt passes from the right hip over the sword to the left. The surcoat is open nearly from the waist, showing almost the whole of the right leg. In Meyrick's "Ancient Armour" this figure is quoted as the earliest example of the dagger and sword

being worn together, and he gives 1286 as the date of the tomb. He wears a mail hauberk of the usual kind. The principal shield is of a large size, as usual in these early effigies, and bears the arms of Montfort, Earl of Leicester, viz., a lion rampant with double tail, devouring a male child, contained within an orle of cross-crosslets. On the right breast of the surcoat are the arms of Wellesbourne, viz., a griffin segreant, holding a child in its left fore paw. The head rests between two shields of arms; that on the dexter side containing the arms of Betun, viz., a Bendè of ten, a chief; the other being entirely defaced. Baldwin de Betune was Earl of Albemarle in right of his wife Hawisa, widow of Mandeville, Earl of Essex. Alice, the daughter and heiress of this Baldwin, was first wife of William Mareschall, Earl of Pembroke, and his second wife was Eleanor, daughter of King John, who was afterwards married to Simon de Montfort, second Earl of Leicester, and father of Richard Wellesbourne here commemorated.

Besides the arms of Montfort and Wellesbourne on the principal shield and surcoat, there are upon the scabbard of the sword which the knight grasps with his left hand seven small shields of arms; but as the colours are unknown it is difficult to ascertain to whom they belong. Counting the shields downwards, No. 1 is defaced, and now quite plain. No. 2: Bendè of ten, a canton. (If Or and Az. and canton Ermine it would represent the arms of the Bishopsdens. Juliana de Montfort, daughter of Peter of Beldesert, married William de Bishopsden, who possessed property at Wellesbourne.) No. 3: A chevron. (If Or and the Chevron Gu. the arms of Stafford.) No. 4: Cross of St. George. (Bigod, Earl of Norfolk.) No. 5: A Chequè. (The old arms of Robert Mellent, Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of Henry I., from whom through the Beaumonts and by females, these Montforts were descended, Amicia, wife of Simon, first Earl of Leicester, being his granddaughter. The Warrennes also bore the same arms.) No. 6: Quarterly. (If Or and Gu. might be the arms of Mandeville, Earl of Essex. Isabel, daughter of William, Earl of Gloucester, married Geoffrey de Mandeville. She was the sister of the above-named Amicia, and therefore aunt to Simon de Montfort.) No. 7: A Pale. (If Gu. a pale Or, it was

the arms of Hugh Grantmesnil, Lord of Hinckley, whose heiress Petronilla married Robert Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, and their daughter was the above-mentioned Amicia.) This effigy is now placed near the sanctuary at the south of the east window of the Montfort chantry. I have not been able to trace the connection of the families of Stafford and Bigod (3 and 4) with the Montforts.

Effigy No. II. probably represents Richard Wellesbourne, son of No. 1, who is mentioned in a deed of 1307 (1 Edw. II.) This monument was originally placed near the centre of the chapel, level with the floor, as the lid of a coffin. When Mr. Norris ejected No. 1 from the arched recess in the north wall, this was taken up from its former position in the floor, and placed upright in the northern splay of the chapel window. But at the late restoration, the present Vicar had it removed, and deposited in the vacant niche, upon a low modern tomb, where it still remains—the proper occupant (Effigy No. 1) being shifted nearer the screen and his feet turned eastward. The mark of the stolen brass may still be traced on the wall under the arch. The effigy represents a knight rudely sculptured in low relief in Purbeck marble, upon a slab narrowing to the feet, where some portion of it has been broken off. The figure has a plain round helmet on the head, a collar of roundlets on the neck, and a gamboised coat with a decoration of roundlets round the bottom of the skirt, which exhibits the peculiar quilting of the coat in parallel lines. A large shield on the breast covers both arms and the right hand. The shield is quartered, and bears in the first quarter the arms of Montfort, the lion and child; in the second some bends are visible, of Montfort of Beldesert; the third is obliterated, and was so in Langley's time, nearly a century ago; in the fourth, the Wellesbourne griffin and child. There are two shields on each side of the head, containing on the dexter side (1) a Chevron, (2) Bendè; on the sinister side (1) a cross of S. George, (2) a Saltire. The figure holds a sword in his right hand, which is hidden by the shield; and a cross in his left hand, which appears just above the upper edge of the shield. Upon the breast there is a heart and a shield close to it, with the arms entirely obliterated. In front of the right leg is a second



"CURIOUS CREST—A CRESCENT."

Containing the face of a lion on Effigy No. III.

sword, not suspended in any way, piercing some animal at his feet, which has been variously described as an owl, a lion, and a dog. In Langley it is engraved as a man's face, in Lipscombe as a cherub, but it probably represents the head and forequarters of the king of beasts. This effigy is thought to be the only example of a cote gamboisiée ornamented with roundels on a military figure. Some have considered this figure to be the earliest of the series.

Effigy No. III. is one of the best preserved of these figures, and is a very striking monument. The slab is somewhat longer than No. 1, and of uniform breadth, and carved in limestone. The figure now reposes upon the ledge of the window, his head being to the north. It represents a knight in a pointed helmet, and mixed plate and chain armour of the time of Edward III. It probably commemorates the grandson of Richard Wellesbourne, No. 1. The figure is well executed, but its symmetry has been partially destroyed by the original fore-arms and hands having been broken off, and the present ones rudely carved out of the body. This must have been done some time ago, as the figure presented the same appearance in Langley's time as it does now. On each side of the head, which reposes on two griffins with a child in their claws, the Montfort lion and child are repeated on the slab, and the Wellesbourne griffin and child occur again at the feet. At the left elbow of the figure are the arms of the Beldesert Montforts, and on the other side those of the Bishopsdens. These two coats are found on most of the later monuments. On the breast just below the camail and above the hands is a heart, and on the jupon, below the waist, the arms of Montfort and Wellesbourne. On each side of the legs, just above the knee, there is a curious crescent, containing the face of a lion.

Effigy No. IV. is very rudely sculptured in limestone, and much worn. The figure has no helmet on the head, and therefore exhibits the whole of the face. He holds a sword in his right hand, and a large shield on his left arm. There is a shield on each side of the head, defaced, and the crescent between them. At the feet is a representation of some quadruped courant, probably a dog. This monument now stands against the east wall of the

chapel. The arms on the shield are similar to those on the last figure, viz., Quarterly. 1. Lion and child (Montfort of Leicester.) 2 and 3. Bendè of ten (Montfort of Beldesert). 4. Griffin and child (Wellesbourne). In the centre an inescutcheon. It probably represents Thomas Wellesbourne, M.P. for Wycombe, 1478.

Effigy No. V. formerly lay on the floor of the chancel. It is carved in limestone, and represents a man in armour, and is a much better executed figure than the last. He wears a close helmet, and holds a mace or masuel in his right hand and a shield on his left arm, bearing the griffin and child, a chief chequè, over all a bendlet dexter, charged with three cross crosslets fitchées. This stone is about nine inches thick, and bears these arms on its edges: (1) a saltire with a base from which rises a cross crosslet fitché. (2) Cross of S. George with an inescutcheon. (3) On a chief three pellets. (4) Bendè a Canton. (5) A Chevron between three crosses pattées. (6) Bendè of ten, a chief chequè. On the opposite side the same arms recur, but in different order. Stothart fixes the date of this tomb at about the end of the fifteenth century. In all probability it commemorates Humphrey Wellesbourne, Mayor of High Wycombe in 1496 and two following years, and who appears to have been the last of the family residing at Rockhols: for we learn from Ashmole's "Berkshire" that his son Oliver lived at West Hanney, where several of his descendants were interred in later times, he having been the first of the family who discarded the Montfort arms. As regards the mace it is a disputed point whether it represents a weapon or a symbol of office. If this figure commemorates a former mayor of Wycombe, it is undoubtedly the latter, though the kind of helmet worn supports the former view. This is probably the only instance in this country of such a weapon occurring upon a monumental effigy.

When Mr. Norris, in 1818, re-arranged these monuments, a stone coffin, with a handsome cross botonè sculptured on the lid, was discovered. At that time all these effigies were lying on the floor, and getting more and more damaged, until the three last mentioned were affixed to the east wall.

Upon an altar tomb in a circular arched recess at the south-west corner of the Montfort Chapel is an effigy of

an emaciated figure, which, judging from the tonsure, is that of a Priest. It represents a full-size corpse stretched upon a winding sheet, or shroud, which is grasped by the left hand, and partly envelopes the body. The figure, though much mutilated, exhibits considerable power of sculpture, and an intimate knowledge of anatomy, and bears upon the breast eight incised crosses. The sternum or breast bone is hollowed out, and, in the oval cavity thus formed, is a little figure with outstretched hands, symbolical of the departing spirit. In the Abbey Church of S. Sexburga, Minster, in the Isle of Sheppy, Kent, there is a similar representation on the tomb of a knight in the Nun's Choir. This figure is of the date of the sixteenth century, and was dug up in the churchyard in 1833. There is, however, this difference in the treatment of the subject. In the case of the one at Minster, which I examined myself a short time back, the departing soul is in the hands of the knight, significant not merely of death, as in the case of the one here at Hughenden, but also of a conscious offering of the spirit to God who gave it.

These ghastly representations of death are often met with in cathedrals, but rarely in parish churches. They are an outward expression of that feeling of terror with which the Grim Tyrant was associated in the minds of our forefathers, and which developed in later times into the skull and cross-bones so frequently seen upon tombstones of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The symbolism of the grave, and the true nature of death, are best shown, as they are here in the beautiful churchyard at Hughenden, by the figure of that which has destroyed the sting of death—the Cross; and by the most expressive emblems of a new life—natural flowers.

The effigy in Hughenden Church is generally, I believe, known by the name of the "Fasting Monk," and the legend connected with it is, that one Lent he attempted to abstain altogether from food during the whole of the forty days, and that he so far accomplished his insane purpose as to have reached the fortieth day, when he succumbed and expired.

Nothing is known with certainty in reference to the date of the figure, or the person whom it represents. It has been suggested that it might suit Alneric, fourth

son of Simon de Montfort, who was a Priest at York and afterwards Chaplain to the Pope, and is supposed to have resided here with his brother Richard. This, however, is improbable, since Almeric died in Italy, and these emaciated figures were not introduced till the middle of the fifteenth century, that is, some 150 years after his death. On the arch in which this figure lies are three shields; but since the bearings of all of them have been obliterated they are of no value in determining the identity of the person here commemorated. I believe it might with greater propriety be referred to Edward Wellesbourne, who was a priest and became Master of the Hospital of S. John Baptist in Wycombe in the year 1493.

Affixed to the east wall near the Crusader there is a good brass of a former Vicar of Hughenden, that lay in the chancel previous to the late restoration. The figure is well executed, and shows a Priest vested in the amice, chasuble, maniple, stole, and alb, with orphrey. Beneath is a Latin inscription in Gothic characters as follows:—

Orate pro Anima Roberti Thursbe, Capellani, qui obiit decimo quinto die mensis Januarii A.D. MCCCCLXXXXIII. Quius Anime Propicietur Deus. Amen.

The stained glass which now fills the window in the Montfort Chapel was removed from the chancel window during the restoration, when new tracery was inserted in the latter. In the head of the central light appears the Holy Dove; above the side lights Alpha and Omega. The central compartment of the window shows our Blessed Lord under a canopy, with the cross in His left hand, and the right raised in benediction, and at His feet are the words "I am the Resurrection and the Life." On a label at the foot of the lights—"In memory of John Norris, Esq., of Hughenden House in this parish, who died October 2nd, 1845, aged 71 years, and Louisa Douglas, his wife, who died July 29th, 1842, aged 63." At the bottom of the central light—"This window was erected by their six surviving daughters and the husband of one deceased, A.D. 1846." In the side lights are depicted the four Evangelists, SS. Matthew and Luke being on our Lord's right hand, with SS. Mark and John on the left; at the bottom the initials "J. N." and

"L. D." The octagonal pillar, which supports the two pointed arches that divide the chancel from the Montfort Chapel, has its capital ornamented with eight shields of arms painted on paper, probably placed there by Mr. Norris. Near the piscina is a marble tablet representing a young man kneeling at a prayer desk with an open book before him. Inscription :—

"Here resteth ye body of Thomas Lane,
ye only sonne of Thomas Lane, Esq.,
and Frances, his wife, whose sovle
was translated ye 17 day of
October An. 1621. Aged 14 years.

Hee pleased god and was beloved of him, who made him so perfect in a short time, that he fvllfilled a long time, for his sovle loved ye Lord, wherefore hasted hee to take him; this his yovng yeares wch. was so willing to go to his god, may condemn ye many yeares and ovld age of ye vngodly, that cannot love to heare of death."

On the south side of the sanctuary is a window in memory of Lucy Jane, first wife of T. J. Reynolds, Esq., of Totteridge, "born 30th June, 1833, died 13th June, 1853." It is of two lights, and depicts, in one, the Nativity, with S. Joseph in the background, and our Lady in an attitude of adoration before the Infant Saviour, behind whom are seen the heads of the traditional ox and ass; in the other, our Lord's Ascension in the presence of his Apostles. Between the points of the two lights is a figure of our Lord on a cross of an anchor shape with the words "For in Thee, O Lord, do I hope." On one side the Paten—on the other the Chalice. Another window of two lights in the same side is a memorial of Sir William Norris Young, Bart., of the 23rd Fusiliers, who was slain in the battle of the Alma during the Crimean War, Sept. 20th, 1854, aged 21; and of Sir George John Young, Bart., his brother, of the Royal Artillery, who died of cholera before Sebastopol later in the same year, October 22nd, aged 19. The window represents in the head a cross and scroll, with "By Thy cross and passion, Good Lord, deliver us," and in the lights the Agony in the Garden, with the words of resignation, "Not My will but Thine be done;" and the Resurrection, with the words of triumph, "O grave, where is thy victory?" Lower in the window are the flags of the above-named regiments, with the motto, "Ubique quo fas et gloria ducunt." These two windows

and the one in the Montfort Chapel are by Williment. In the tower there is an elegant mural monument, which was formerly in the chancel, by G. Garrard, R.A., of London, to that benevolent lady, Ellen, Countess of Conyngham, of Hughenden Manor. It is of white marble, a representation of Charity in basso-relievo, holding in her right hand a cross, her left hand pressing an infant to her breast, and in the background, an hospital in building. Inscription:—

"Sacred to the memory of
Ellen, Countess of Conyngham,
Widow of Henry, first Earl of Conyngham.

It were needless to enumerate the many virtues which adorned her character. They will be fondly cherished in the memory of her surviving friends; and her liberal bequests to various charitable institutions in the counties of York, Buckingham, and Middlesex, will call forth blessings on her name in time to come. She died the death of the righteous, venerated and beloved, on the 15th of June, 1816, in the 92 year of her age, happily retaining to the last the full vigour of her superior understanding, and was buried in the vault beneath amongst her paternal ancestors."

On a stone in the floor of the Tower—*Arms,* three rams trippant, *Crest,* a ram's head,

"Here lies the body of Richard Sydenham, Esq.,
late of Piggotts in this parish,
who departed this life
the 21st day of September, 1737.

On the north wall of the tower a mural monument—a widow's lozenge; quarterly Az. and Gu. in 2 and 3 a fret Or, on a fess sable three mullets of the first (Norris). Inscription—"In a vault near this place are deposited the remains of Charles and Samuel Savage, Esqrs., their sister, Mrs. Ellen Norris, and her son John Norris, Esq., of Hitchenden, who died the 29th June, 1786; and by his last will and testament bequeathed 5,000 pounds to Magdalen College, Oxford. The right hon. Ellen, Countess Conyngham, has caused this monument to be erected to the memory of her two uncles, aunt and cousin."

There were formerly achievements to Lady Conyngham, John Norris, and Richard Sydenham, in the chancel. The family vault of Lord Beaconsfield is entered from the

churchyard, and was constructed for the reception of the remains of Mrs. Willyams. This lady was an ardent admirer of the late Earl, and testified her esteem by bequeathing to him all her property, amounting to £40,000. Under the east window of the Montfort Chapel is an inelegant but costly semi-mural monument of three arches, the centre a trefoil, the side ones lancet shaped, enclosing three recessed slabs of red Scotch granite. The arches are supported by short shafts of Devon marble with ornamental capitals. The cornice is finely sculptured to represent lilies, roses, etc. The arches are of Portland stone. The following inscription is incised on the central panel in gilt letters—

> "In memory of Mary Anne Disraeli, Viscountess Beaconsfield in her own right, for thirty-three years the wife of the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, Lord of this Manor. Ob. Dec. 15th, 1872."

On the slab to the right—

> "In memory of James Disraeli, Esq., one of her Majesty's Commissioners of Inland Revenue, and third son of Isaac Disraeli, Esq., of Bradenham, in this county, author of 'Curiosities of Literature.' Ob. Dec. 3, 1868."

On the left-hand slab—

> "In memory of Sarah Brydges Willyams, relict of James Brydges Willyams, of Carnanton, in the County of Cornwall, and Colonel of the Royal Cornish Militia. She died at Torquay, 11th Nov., 1863, and was buried, at her desire, in this vault."

It will be noticed that no ages are mentioned in these inscriptions, nor is Lord Beaconsfield's in the inscription on his coffin — "The Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield and Viscount Hughenden, born December 21st, 1804, died April 19th, 1881."

The circumstances connected with the interment of the late Earl of Beaconsfield in this vault have been so recently detailed in the public press, that it is needless for me to make more than a passing reference to it. But as no history of Hughenden would be complete without some account of Lord Beaconsfield, I subjoin a brief notice of his career. The Disraelis belong to a Jewish family of the Sephardim race who flourished in Spain and afterwards in Italy. The first of the family who settled in England was Benjamin Disraeli, a Venetian

merchant, who came to this country in 1748, and died at Enfield in 1817, aged 90 years. His son Isaac was born at Enfield in 1766, married in 1802, Maria, daughter of George Bassevi, Esq., by whom he had four children, and died at Bradenham in 1848. His eldest son, Benjamin, was born in the Adelphi, London, December 21st, 1804. His first literary work, "Vivian Grey," was published in 1825; he unsuccessfully contested High Wycombe, 1832; again in 1835; first retutned to Parliament for Maidstone, 1837; M.P. for Shrewsbury, 1841; for Bucks, 1847, which he continued to represent till raised to the peerage in August, 1876; leader of Protectionist party on the death of Lord George Bentinck, 1842; Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, 1852; again in 1858-9; Prime Minister, 1868; again 1874-80; D.C.L. of Oxford, 1853; Lord Rector of Glasgow University, 1873-4; attended Berlin Congress in 1878; died at 19, Curzon-street, London, April 19th, 1881. In 1839 he married Mary Anne, widow of Wyndham Lewis, Esq., his colleague in the representation of Maidstone, and only daughter of Captain John Viney Evans, R.N., of Bampford-Speke, near Exeter, created Viscountess Beaconsfield in her own right, November, 1868. Among his numerous publications since his entrance on political life are "Coningsby," "Sybil," "Tancred," "A Vindication of the English Constitution," "Biography of Lord G. Bentinck," "Lothair," and "Endymion," published at the beginning of the present year.

As far as his connection with Hughenden is concerned, he was everywhere spoken of as a kind and generous landlord; and, though for a long time far from being a rich man (the annual value of Hughenden Manor being only £1,494), he will long be remembered for many unostentatious acts of charity among the poor; as Squire, ready both with his purse and advice to further the good of the parish. As patron of the living he evinced great interest in the church, which he attended regularly while staying at Hughenden, and when it was being rebuilt showed his anxiety that it should be restored, for, as he himself expressed it, "it was not to the honour of any parish that the house least honoured in it should be the House of God."

"Brilliant as were his qualities as a Statesman, they were equalled by his simplicity and love of home. It was at Hughenden we best knew him in the tender and affectionate part of his nature, which the outer world could not so well discern in the light of his sparkling wit and dazzling genius. As we gaze round our lovely hills, our eyes rest upon the scene on which he loved to gaze, and each turn recalls his favourite view or peep:—the sunny slopes, the ancient river Kishon, the German Forest, Italy, all humorously named by him in accordance with the varied characteristics of each spot. A mind stored with such depth of resource could never experience the sensation of solitude; indeed, he was in the best society when alone. In a rapture of devotion to his home he exclaimed, 'How is it possible to be dull at Hughenden? I have all I love, trees and books. I have trees in the summer and books all the year round.' The advance of spring reminds us with what zealous enjoyment he basked in this season last year, when his freedom from office released him to yield himself up to the uninterrupted happiness of revelling in the verdant luxury of his woods and slopes. Time may efface the desolation of the nation, but Time will only quicken within us in Hughenden the bitter pang of separation! The scene around us reminds us of him; the varying light and shade over the undulating park, the sparkling river, the stately peacocks, the song of the birds, rouse an aching sense of desolation. In this beloved spot he desired his body might rest beside that of his devoted wife. In spite of the universal expression of the nation to pay the country's tribute of honour by interment amongst the Great of the earth, a sacred recognition of his wishes was accorded by his Sovereign, with which the nation complied with unqualified acquiescence." ("Hughenden Parish Magazine," May, 1881.)

The funeral took place on April 26, 1881, the Burial Office being read by the Rev. H. Blagden, Vicar, and among the mourners were the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of Connaught and Albany, and a large number of the political friends and admirers of the deceased statesman. The coffin was covered with beautiful flowers; two wreaths—one of primroses and the other of bay leaves and everlasting flowers—being from her Majesty the Queen.

Addenda.

The accounts given in Domesday Book of the manors in this parish are as follow:—

(1). Tra Epi Baioc.

M. Wills filius Ogeri ten de epo Huchedene p x hid se defd. Tra e x car. In dnio sunt ii 7 xv villi cu iii bord hnt viii car. Ibi v servi ptu ii car. Silva sexcent porc. In totis valent val x lib. Qdo recep vi lib. T. R. E. vii lib. Hoc M. tenuit Eddid regina.

(2). Tra Nigel de Abingi.

In Dustenberg Hd.

M. Nigellus de Albingi ten et Roger de eo Tilleberie p v hid se defd. Tra e xi car. In dnio sunt iii 7 xiii villi cu i bord hnt vii car 7 viii va pot fieri. Silva xx porc. In totu val vii lib. Qdo recep C sol. T. R. E. vii lib. Hoc M. tenuit Turbt ho Algari com 7 vende pot.

Rendered into English:—

The land of the Bishop of Baieux.

Manor. William Fitz-Oger holds of the Bishop, Huchendene, and was assessed for 10 hides. There is land for (or sufficient to employ) 10 ploughs (or ox teams). In demesne there are 2, and 15 villains with 3 bordars (or cottagers), have 8 ploughs. There are 5 slaves, two carucates of pasture land, and pannage for 600 hogs. For all dues it is worth £10; when received £6; in the time of King Edward (the Confessor) £7, when Edith his queen held this manor.

The Land of Nigel de Albini.

In Dustenberg (Desboro') Hundred.

Manor. Nigel de Albini holds and Roger of him, Tillebury (Brands Fee) and is taxed for 5 hides. There is land sufficient for 11 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 and 13 villains with 1 bordar have seven ploughs, and an 8th can be made. There is pannage for 20 swine. In the whole it is worth £7; when received 100s.; in the time of King Edward £7. Turbert, a vassal of Algar, Earl (of Mercia) held this manor and could sell it.

(3). A charter of confirmation of lands, etc., given to the Priory of Kenilworth, *temp.* Henry II., enumerates the church of Hughenden:—

"Ex dono Nicholai de Hychendena ecclesiam ejusdem Villæ de Hychendena sicut ipsius carta testatur."

(4). The following is a copy of the deed from Nichol's "History of Leicester":—

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Wellysbourne filius comes Symonis de Monteforte unus filiorum domina Alianora filia Johannis Regis Angliæ, dedi concessi, et hac presenti carta mea et concessione Mariæ ux' mei, Ricardo de la Rosehulles, unum messuagium cum gardimo et cum tilag' et cum aliis pertin' supra Kingshull in parochia de Hugenden. Hiis testibus Symone de Hugenden, Galfrido Tykfer, Ricardo Tere, Willielmo

Brand et aliis." (Quoted as from Vincent's MSS. p. 40, b.; but the reference appears to be incorrect. There are copies of this deed, varying slightly in orthography from the above, in Langley and Lipscombe).

There are two seals appended to this deed. On one side of the larger seal is the lion rampant with a double tail, holding a child in its mouth, with the legend, "S. Wellisburne de la Monteforte;" on the reverse the griffin segreant and chief chequè. The other seal represents a warrior in armour, wearing the coif, hauberk, and gambeson, holding a banner of the Cross of S. George in his right hand, and on his left arm a shield charged with the lion rampant with double tail and a child in its mouth, a fleur-de-lis on each side of him. The legend is, "† S. Wellisburne Bellator Fil Simonis de Monteforte." Both of these seals are engraved in Nichol's "Leicestershire." A copy of the document quoted above occurs in the Cotton MSS. (Julius cvii., Plut. xviii., D fol. 141), with a remark, signed "W. Camden Clar.," that "it is thought to be a forged deed by reason of the false Latin, the character new, and the style absurd both in deed and seal." As regards this note of Camden's, it does not appear that he could have compared the arms of these seals with those on Richard Wellesbourne's effigy in the church, the only difference being that the lion rampant on the shield is contained within an orle of cross crosslets, which are not found on the shield, and the griffin on the surcoat holds a child in its paws, which that on the seal does not. In reference to the genuineness of the deed, Lipscombe remarks, "No one would forge a grant from persons who did not possess the property granted: it at least shows that a son of Simon de Montfort and his wife Mary possessed lands in this parish, and it is remarkable that true seals were annexed to the deed;" and Stothard says that the faulty Latin of the deed "is perhaps no proof of its being fictitious." And as regards the style and execution of the seals, there is nothing to lead anyone to doubt that they are of the period to which they profess to belong. It is very probable that Richard Wellesbourne married a daughter of Henry de Montfort of Beldesert, who possessed property at Wellesbourne; and if so, it would account for the frequent recurrence of the arms of those three families upon the effigies in the Montfort Chapel.

(5.) The following is a copy of the deed of 1307, from Nichol's "Leicestershire":—

"Ricardus Dominus de Wellesburne, miles, nuper de villa de Wellesburne Montefort, in com' Warwyke Dat' apud Wellesburne in com' War', anno 1 Edw. II."

On the seal attached to this deed there is a shield bearing the griffin segreant and chief chequè, with the addition of a bendlet dexter over all. It is worthy of notice that the griffin on this seal is without the child in its paws—a somewhat puzzling circumstance when it is remembered that this peculiar addition is found in every example of this coat sculptured upon or about the effigies in the church.

(6.) In his Appendix to the "History of the Hundred of Desborough," Langley remarks: "I must question upon high authority the skeleton under the arch being a priest, on account of the shields of arms, which are at least unusual, if not unprecedented. I conceive this to be Peter, son of Peter de Montfort, killed at the battle of Evesham. This Peter went on a pilgrimage to Gallicia, and died 15th Edw. I. The arms probably would have determined this point, as he changed his coat from bendè of six to bendè of ten. There was another Peter, grandson of the pilgrim, who was first in holy orders, but after his brother's decease enjoying a large inheritance, by dispensation became a knight, and died 42 Edw. III.; but he is said to have been buried at Warwick, or otherwise this circumstance might account for this singular representation."

Langley seems to have been mistaken as regards the family to which the Wellesbournes of Hughenden belonged. For instance, he says: "Henry de Montfort, who re-obtained the manor of Wellesbourne in Warwickshire the 2nd of Richard I., probably died here, and was buried in the chancel; over whom is the effigy of a knight templar under a pointed arch." This Henry de Montfort was not a knight templar. He belonged to the Beldesert family, and his father had been deprived of the manor of Wellesbourne in 1107 by Henry I. Yet he continues in the very next sentence, "The posterity of Richard, son of Simon Montfort, Earl of Leicester, are said to have assumed the name of Wellesburne, and to have resided at a place called Wreck Hall, in this parish." In reference

to the arms on the monuments, he says, "they clearly point out that they are Wellesburne Montforts, descended from those of Beldesert," and yet the Beldesert coat does not appear at all on the effigy of Richard Wellesbourne, although it is found on the later monuments. I have before remarked that the Montforts of Leicester, from whom the Wellesbournes of Hughenden were descended, were a distinct family from the Montforts of Beldesert, in Warwickshire.

(7). Royal Visits to Hughenden.

(From the *Court Circular*.)

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *Saturday, December* 15, 1877.

"The Queen, accompanied by Princess Beatrice, went to Hughenden Manor to-day, and visited the Earl of Beaconsfield.

"Her Majesty left Windsor at twenty minutes to one o'clock, and travelled by a special train on the Great Western Railway to High Wycombe. The Queen was met at the Railway Station by the Earl of Beaconsfield and Mr. Montagu Corry.

"The Mayor of High Wycombe (Mr. William Phillips) and the Corporation received the Queen on the platform, and presented her Majesty with an address. A bouquet was likewise presented to her Majesty by Miss Phillips.

"The Earl of Beaconsfield having expressed her Majesty's acknowledgments, the royal party entered a carriage and four which was in waiting, and drove through the borough of High Wycombe, preceded by the Earl of Beaconsfield in his carriage, to Hughenden Manor.

"Guards of honour from the Royal Bucks (King's Own) Militia, and from the Buckinghamshire Volunteers, were on duty near the Station.

"The Queen planted a tree at Hughenden in commemoration of her Majesty's visit. Princess Beatrice also planted a tree.

"Her Majesty and Princess Beatrice honoured the Earl of Beaconsfield with their presence at luncheon, and returned by the same route through High Wycombe to the Railway Station.

"On passing through the triumphal arch formed of chairs (the chief manufacture of the borough) her Majesty directed the carriage to stop, so as to carefully inspect it.

"Lord Carington had the honour of receiving her Majesty at the Station.

"The Queen, having entered the train, returned to Windsor at a quarter before five p.m.

"The Dowager Marchioness of Ely, Lieutenant-General H. Ponsonby, and Colonel Du Plat were in attendance."

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *May* 1, 1881.

"The Queen, accompanied by Princess Beatrice, and attended by the Dowager Marchioness of Ely and Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Fitzroy, C.B., drove yesterday afternoon through Rayner's Park, the residence of Sir Philip Rose, to Hughenden Church.

"The royal party was received by Lord Rowton, and the Rev. Henry and Mrs. Blagden, who conducted her Majesty and the Princess to the

tomb of the late Earl of Beaconsfield, where they placed a wreath and cross of flowers.

"The Queen afterwards proceeded to Hughenden Manor, drove back to Windsor through High Wycombe, and arrived at the Castle at seven o'clock."

(8.) Population of Hughenden according to the Census of 1881, is as follows:

(*a*) Houses—inhabited, 381; uninhabited, 14; building, 0.

(*b*) Persons enumerated who abode therein— males, 904; females, 899; total, 1803. Population in 1871—1792, showing an increase of 11 during the decade.

This is one of the few places where the number of females is less than that of the male population.

(9) I find that the De Montforts had been connected with this locality some time before the date of the battle of Evesham. Almeric de Montfort, elder brother of the Earl of Leicester, who became possessed of the Honour of Gloucester, by marriage with Mabel, eldest daughter of William, Earl of Gloucester, gave, cir. 1226, to the Canons of Missenden, a mark of silver and a hundred eels out of his rents at Great Marlow, from Gosenham Mill. A copy of the deed by which this grant was made, is still preserved in the Missenden Register, and is witnessed by the well-known local names of Hugh de Gurnay, William (Leys ?), Archdeacon of Buckingham, Robert de Burnham, and Nicholas, the Earl's Chaplain. The Abbey itself was built upon land belonging to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of Henry I., from whom, through female heirs, the Montforts are descended.

(10) While these sheets have been in the press, new stained glass by Clayton and Bell, has been inserted in the west window to the memory of the late Earl of Beaconsfield, out of the funds subscribed by his Lordship's friends and admirers. This is the finest window in the church, and its beautiful Geometric tracery is now seen to perfection with the subdued light transmitted by the soft tints of the painted glass. The subjects illustrated are the four archangels in the upper part of the lights, with the appearances of angels recorded in the Old Testament below, as follow:—(1) St. Gabriel, and the angel calling

out of heaven to Abraham at the offering up of Isaac. (2.) St. Michael with the angels appearing to Jacob in a dream at Bethel. (3) St. Raphael and the appearance of the angel to Gideon. (4) St. Ariel and the angel at Manoah's sacrifice.

The central window on the south side of the nave, has been filled with stained glass by the Undergraduates of the University of Oxford, in recognition of the high esteem in which they held the late Lord Beaconsfield. The scenes depicted in this window are in the upper part of the lights: (1) Angels ministering to our Blessed Lord after His Fasting and Temptation. (2) The angel appearing to Him after His Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane. In the lower compartment: (3) The Angel at the Holy Sepulchre after the Resurrection. (4) Angels appearing to the Apostles after our Lord's Ascension.

When the Silk Banner and Badges of Knighthood of the Garter were taken down from Lord Beaconsfield's stall in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to forward them to his Lordship's executors to be placed over his seat at the west end of the north side of the Choir in Hughenden Church.

R. S. D.

Obituary.

The Committee regret that they have to record the loss by death, of the following members, since the publication of the last number of the Records. The Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G. (Vice-President), Acton Tindal, Esq., John Parker, Esq.

In Memoriam.

THE RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, K.G.

Early in the morning of Easter Tuesday last, April 19, 1881, there passed away, after about a month's illness, amidst the profound sympathy and regret of thousands, the illustrious Statesman whose name stands at the head of this notice. Benjamin Disraeli was the eldest son of Isaac D'Israeli, Esq., the well known author of the "Curiosities of Literature," and other works. Mr. Isaac D'Israeli was the only son of Benjamin D'Israeli, a Venetian merchant, and was born at Enfield in 1767. Destined originally for his father's occupation, he soon showed such an antipathy to commerce, and such a strong inclination to literary pursuits, that the ledger was soon thrown aside, and his life was thenceforth devoted to those studies to which his tastes and genius directed him; and thus his celebrated son, the subject of this notice, was from his early years thrown into the literary and cultivated society which his father had gathered round him.

Lord Beaconsfield was born in London, December 21, 1804. He was originally destined for the legal profession; but, like his eminent father, he soon betook himself to literature. Before he attained his majority he surprised and delighted the novel-reading world with his "Vivian Grey," said to have been written at Hyde Hall, in Buckinghamshire. But it was some years after this that he produced his "Coningsby," and 'Sybil;" and there can be no doubt that these, and other publications of his which follow them, had a powerful effect in consolidating the ranks and directing the policy of that great party of which he became ultimately the undisputed chief. He made his first appearance in Parliament as member for Maidstone in 1837, having been previously defeated by a small

majority in a contest for High Wycombe in 1831. In 1841 he became member for Shrewsbury. In 1847 he was returned for the County of Buckingham, and continued to represent this county until August, 1876, when he was elevated to the Peerage.

Upon the resignation of Lord Derby in February, 1868, he became Prime Minister of England; but the balance of parties was at that time so even, that he resigned in about six months. Five years afterwards (in March, 1873) Mr. Gladstone's Government was defeated by a very narrow majority on the "Irish University Bill;" and Mr. Disraeli was again sent for by the Queen. But his time was not yet come; and after consultation with his political supporters, he declined to take office. In the following year, however, when Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country, the General Election, completed in February, 1874, placed the Conservatives in a substantial majority of at least fifty; and Mr. Gladstone having at once resigned, Mr. Disraeli succeeded him as Prime Minister, and remained in power for six years, that is, until the General Election in April, 1880, when the power was transferred by a very large majority to the Liberals, and Mr. Gladstone again became Premier.

During those six years, from 1874 to 1880, Mr. Disraeli's Government had gained increasing majorities in Parliament. On August 16, 1876, Mr. Disraeli was advanced to the Peerage, though still retaining the Premiership, while Sir Stafford Northcote led in the House of Commons.

One of the most important events connected with Lord Beaconsfield's Premiership was the assembling of the Congress of Berlin, at which he and the Marquis of Salisbury took part as the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain. The Congress was concluded and the Treaty of Berlin was signed July 13, 1878. The British plenipotentiaries received quite on ovation upon their return; and on the 22nd of July Lord Beaconsfield was invested by the Queen with the Order of the Garter. In the following month, August 2, 1878, Lord Beaconsfield's Foreign policy was sustained in the House of Commons, after a long and exhaustive debate, by the enormous majority of one hundred and forty-three. Lord Beaconsfield married in 1839, Mary Ann, only daughter of the late John Evans, Esq., of Branceford Park, Devon, and widow of his former colleague, Wyndham Lewis, Esq., late M.P. for Maidstone.

The circumstances of Lord Beaconsfield's last illness are well known. It had been observed that his health had for some time been gradually failing. He had been subject to periodical attacks of gout and bronchial asthma, which as his years advanced gradually undermined his naturally healthy

and vigorous constitution. It was not until the end of March last, that it became generally known that he was not in his usual health; but from that time the interest which gathered round his residence in Curzon-street was intense and unflagging, until the last fatal bulletin, written by Lord Barrington, and posted outside the house at half-past six, on Tuesday morning, April 19th, 1881, announced that all was over. The bulletin was as follows, "The debility, which was "evidently increasing yesterday, progressed during the night, "and Lord Beaconsfield died at half-past four this morning, "calmly, as if in sleep."

As the owner and occupier of Hughenden Manor, in Buckinghamshire, and as a representative of the County in Parliament for nearly thirty years, Lord Beaconsfield would naturally claim a place in the obituary records of this Society, of which for many years past he has been a Vice-President. But it need hardly be said that his name has long been famous far beyond his own County; and before his death he was recognized throughout the civilized world as one of the most powerful and popular Ministers that have ever influenced the destinies of the British Empire. He gained his great position in the State by none of those adventitious circumstances, which have helped to elevate others to rank and power, but by the force of his own brilliant genius, united to a powerful will and an indomitable perseverance; conscious of his own powers, he proposed to himself great objects, and he resolved to win. And having so determined, he kept these objects steadfastly in view. The long-continued successes of his political opponents, which would have discouraged many a man of less force of will, served only to stimulate him to renewed endeavour. Frequent reverses seemed to brace him for fresh efforts. He never lost his self control. He was seldom, if ever, thrown off his guard. Quick as lightning to take advantage of a slip on the part of an opponent, he rarely betrayed any excitement when he had made a successful thrust, or given his adversary a fall. He was always the same self-contained, impassive man, whether he was receiving the prolonged applauses of enthusiastic spirits in the Sheldonian Theatre, or whether he was assailed by the hisses of an electioneering mob on the hustings—whether he was greeted with the homage always rendered to some flight of genius, or triumph of oratory at St. Stephen's, or whether he was for the time the victim of some well organized political attack.

He had great faith in his own destiny. It is said of him on one occasion that when Lord Melbourne, then Prime Minister, recognizing his great talents, and thinking to turn

them to good account for his own political party, asked him if he could be of any service to him, the aspiring young politician answered, "I want to be Prime Minister." And this was said not in joke, but in thorough earnestness of purpose. Some years after this he was conversing with a friend and neighbour in this county, who happened to be finding fault with some part of the policy of the Government of the day, upon which Mr. Disraeli said quickly, "Ah! when I am Prime Minister, I shall take a very different line from that." And all this was quite consistent with those well-known prophetic words of his, spoken at the close of his first speech in Parliament in 1837, and when the House of Commons had refused to hear him;—"The time will come when you will hear me."

Lord Beaconsfield has sometimes been taunted with political inconsistency. But anyone who has read his novels, particularly his political novels, such as Coningsby, Sybil, Tancred and Lothair, will see that he had all along definite principles; and as he ascended step after step on the ladder to political power, it was more and more evident that the principles which dominated him were those which are seen to flash and sparkle in his writings. To make the social and intellectual progress of the Realm consistent with loyalty to the Constitution and the Throne of England, these were the principles which he ever kept in view. There is no man who made greater sacrifices for his party than Mr. Disraeli. Had he chosen, he might have placed himself at the head of a revolutionary party in the State. But with such principles he had no sympathy. His great policy was to preserve the integrity of the Empire, and to make the maintenance of order consistent with the progress of liberty. In order to do this he had to show the great aristocratic party how to meet the wave of democracy which this far-seeing statesman perceived to be advancing over Europe, so that its force might be weakened as it approached our shores, and it might break harmlessly upon the firm and yet elastic constitution of this Realm. He felt, moreover, that if England was to retain her ancient greatness, and if her trade and commerce were to be maintained throughout the world, it was necessary that the Empire should be regarded as one, and that no danger ought to threaten any part of it, and the whole Realm not sympathize. And so his policy was no contracted, no merely insular policy. It was comprehensive, it was Imperial.

Of his relations to his Sovereign it is almost needless to speak. His loyalty to the Queen seemed to animate him like a passion; and the Queen knew well how to appreciate her talented and devoted Minister. An approving Nation observed

with gratitude and admiration how she felt for him—how she would gladly have ministered to him in his last sickness—how she visited his grave—how, with her own Royal hands, she laid a wreath on his coffin. The Nation knows well how deeply she mourns over so wise a counsellor—so far-seeing a Statesman—so faithful and powerful a supporter of her Throne and her Empire. It is the fate of men of great and surpassing abilities that they often find themselves very much alone on the earth. They who tower up above their fellow-men, and so take a wider and more comprehensive view than others of the world and its concerns, are often almost of necessity shut out from intercourse with ordinary men. And hence they are often misunderstood, and not seldom disliked. But no one who had the privilege of acquaintance with Lord Beaconsfield could doubt that, behind a somewhat reserved and apparently cold exterior, there beat a heart full of sympathy and kindness. The more he was known the more he was liked. In his own neighbourhood, and in his own County, he was very popular. His tenantry were proud of him. His personal friends were devoted to him. His attachment to his wife is well known; it was as constant and true as that of his wife to him. He felt her loss intensely. For a time it almost crushed him. But he found, as many others have done under similar afflictions, that next to those higher consolations which are the special privilege of Christian men, the best relief is active employment. But to show how great was his sorrow at that time, the writer of this notice ventures to quote the following words of a letter which he received from Mr. Disraeli not long after her death:—

"I am grateful to you for your sympathy in the supreme sorrow of my life. She whom I mourn was my inseparable and ever-interesting companion for a moiety of my existence. I must ever regard those who remember her with tenderness and respect.—With sincere esteem, your's,

"*Hughenden Manor*, "B. DISRAELI."
"*Feb.* 2, 1873.

The character of Lord Beaconsfield is one which may be studied with advantage by all those who desire to serve their country faithfully, and who wish to see what great things may be accomplished by high principle, a strong will, and patient industry. And the country will look with anxious but hopeful interest to all those whom Lord Beaconsfield's example may have influenced, and his genius may have inspired.

The Deanery, Lichfield. E. B.
May, 31, 1881.

Mr. Acton Tindal.—Mr. Tindal, of the Manor House, Aylesbury, died on the 26th October, 1880, in the seventieth year of his age. He was the eldest son of the late Thomas Tindal, Esq., of the Prebendal House, Aylesbury, Clerk of the Peace, and Treasurer of the County of Buckingham, who died in 1850; his mother being the daughter of Acton Chaplin, Esq., of Aylesbury, also Clerk of the Peace and Treasurer of the County. His grandfather was Robert Tindal, of Coval Hall, Chelmsford, who died in 1835, and who married the only daughter of John Pocock, Esq., of Greenwich, leaving issue (*inter alia*) Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, Kt., D.C.L., sometime His Majesty's Solicitor-General, and afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Thomas Tindal, Esq., o. Aylesbury. Mr. A. Tindal married Henrietta Euphemia, only surviving child of the late Rev. J. Harrison, Vicar of Dinton, and has left issue Nicolas, Acton Giffard, Charles Harrison, and Margaret Sabina. Mr. Tindal has been associated with the County and with the town of Aylesbury for a very long period; as early as the year 1834, as Clerk to the Magistrates at Aylesbury, and afterwards, on the resignation of his father, Clerk of the Peace for the County of Buckingham, which office he held forty-two years. He also held the office of Registrar of the Archdeaconry of Buckingham. At the formation of the Aylesbury Poor Law Union, in 1835, Mr. Tindal was appointed Clerk, an office he held for three years, but resigned in the year 1838. Notwithstanding the various public labours incumbent on him, Mr. Tindal did not shrink from his share of duties as a parishioner. As a member of the Aylesbury Board of Guardians, Chairman of the Local Board of Health, the Burial Board, as Churchwarden, as a Trustee of Bedford's Charity, Trustee of the Savings' Bank, and in other local public offices, he always rendered his ready assistance, and uniformly gave the greatest satisfaction in the performance of any duties he had undertaken. In the year 1849, he became Lord of the Manor of Aylesbury, with its appurtenances. The Manor came into the public market, amongst the other estates of the late Duke of Buckingham, and was purchased by Mr. Tindal. On the purchase of the Manor, the new Lord made a present of the public clock to the town of Aylesbury, which for some years was the well-known authentic time keeper, erected on the turret of the late Market House, and which now performs a like useful duty in the present clock tower, the foundation stone of which building was laid by the late Mrs. Tindal in 1876. On the occasion of Mr. Tindal becoming Lord of the Manor, and his presentation of the town clock, a public complimentary dinner was given to him, which was largely attended by the residents of the town and neighbourhood.

Mr. John Parker.—Mr. Parker died on the 22nd December, 1880, at his residence, High Wycombe, in the 80th year of his age. He was the second son of the late Mr. William Parker, who filled the highest municipal office in that borough. Mr. Parker was an Antiquary of great local reputation. His chief work was his "Early History and Antiquities of Wycombe," which was published in 1878 by subscription (the Prince of Wales and Lord Beaconsfield being among the subscribers). The preparations for this book, which displays great learning and research, occupied the greater part of Mr. Parker's latter years. The subject was congenial to his tastes, and from the antiquity and many historical associations of the borough of Wycombe, is more interesting to the outside public than the books of antiquaries are wont to be. Mr. Parker also published a "Life of the late Miss Hannah Ball," and the "History of the old Nonconformist Church of Crendon Lane, Wycombe," with which he had been long and honourably connected. He was by profession a

Solicitor, having been admitted an Attorney at the Michaelmas term, 1823. He filled many important offices with great efficiency. He was Town Clerk of Wycombe for many years, holding that office in connection with the office of the Clerk to the Borough Bench. On his resignation of the Town Clerkship he retained the office of Clerk to the Magistrates, and continued to be the trusted adviser of the Bench till advancing age led him to resign it into the hands of his son and successor. He was also Clerk to the Charity Trustees, Registrar to the County Court, Clerk to the Commissioners of Taxes—all of which he resigned only when he retired from the more active duties of his profession. He was a decided and consistent Nonconformist, and very liberal in supporting public movements for the good of his native town, where his loss will be much felt.

R. G.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AT WYCOMBE.

BY JOHN PARKER, ESQ.

Mr. John Parker, F.S.A., accompanied the members of the Bucks Archæological Society on their visit to and inspection of this Hospital, on the 3rd of August, 1882, and gave, from memory, the substance of a Paper he had read before the Society of Antiquaries on a recent occasion, which had been illustrated with excellent drawings by Mr. G. C. Richardson.

Mr. Parker reminded the members that in consequence of the erection of the new Grammar School buildings, and the contemplated removal of the old school buildings, it was doubtful, whether the remains of this Hospital, which were part of or were surrounded by the old school, would be preserved, and that much interest had been taken by the Society of Antiquaries, and the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, in these most valuable relics. The following are the points on which Mr. Parker called the attention of the Society.

The situation of the Hospital was in Easton Town, or Estynton, a separate hamlet, having formerly a fair of its own on the day of St. Thomas-the-Martyr; this hamlet was afterwards connected to the town of Wycombe, and formed a Ward of the Borough, called Easton Ward.

The Hospital originally was bounded by the river, from which it is now separated by Easton Street. The Rye Mead then stretched along the opposite side of the river, and was thus connected locally, as it is to this day by title, with the Hospital, as an appurtenant of the foundation.

An exchange of lands, in the last century, between the then Lord Shelburne and the Corporation of Wycombe, altered the boundaries of this ancient Mead.

Prior to the incorporation of the borough, the Rye Mead was the common pasture for the tenants of the ancient demesne of Wycombe. After the incorporation the burgesses entered into the rights of the tenants. The moots or gemotes, when the Saxon was in the

ascendant, were held here; and it was here that borough election days and law days were afterwards held, and leases were renewed in the presence of the burgesses.

With regard to the origin of the Hospital, it has been popularly supposed to have belonged originally to the Templars, and afterwards to the Hospitalers, in consequence, it may be supposed, of the dedication of the Hospital to St. John-the-Baptist. But there is some plausibility for the supposition, as it is well known that the Templars had considerable property in the hundred of Desborough. They had a manor at Wycombe, still known as Temple Manor, and Temple End and Temple Farm are familiar names in the locality. On the dissolution of the Templars and the confiscation of their lands, the Hospitalers for the most part, succeeded to their properties, hence the presumed connection of this Hospital with these orders, which were accustomed to have, as is well known, houses for brethren and sisters.

This Hospital was, no doubt, originally founded by the Sokemen, who occupied the slopes of the valley, first, probably, for pilgrims and travellers, and afterwards for those of the community who were in destitution or sickness. Subsequently the foundation consisted of a master (in holy orders), and brethren and sisters, appointed by the burgesses on the ground of poverty and sickness, and they took vows of chastity and obedience; and there is very good ground for concluding that they were under the rule of St. Austin. Whether in this country, or on the continent, there are abundant evidences that houses, founded for the reception of the needy and sick, were commonly under this rule.

The building itself consisted of a hall and chapel, or refectory; the hall is supposed to have been erected in 1175, it is about 62 feet in length and 16 feet wide between the pillars. The side aisles were 6 feet wide. It stands north and south, and in this is proved its peculiar value and interest as a relic of the past, inasmuch as it is amongst the very few remains of Norman architecture in this country devoted to *secular* purposes. On each side of the hall were three pillars, alternately round and octagonal, supporting four plain semi-circular arches, 13 feet in diameter. The capitals of the pillars are ornamented with foliage and shells, and on one of them a

dragon is sculptured. Of the six pillars four remain, they are 8½ feet in height. The western aisle has disappeared. Portions of the entrance porch, with four transitional Norman pillars, are preserved; and one of the greatest curiosities of the hall is the oven which still exists. It reveals the domestic life of the brethren and sisters. The hall was their abode night and day; the sleeping quarters would be the aisles—one aisle would be parted off for the males, the other for the females.

The chapel or refectory—which stands east and west—was about 24 feet in length by 21 feet in width. This building is of more recent date; portions of the original roof remain, and the north wall. In this wall are still preserved one lancet and one decorated window of the original building.

In the history of this Hospital from its earliest days, everything points to one conclusion, namely, that it was essentially a public institution. After the incorporation of the borough, dating back, it is believed, to the reign of Henry I., the mayor and burgesses became the patrons of the foundation. To this day one of its principal estates is known as the Town Farm. Its connection with the Rye Mead, the ancient place of public resort of the townfolk, is also another proof of the position it occupied.

Benefactions have from time to time been made by the wealthier burgesses to the Hospital, and several original deeds containing grants of lands still exist. The records furnish a scanty list of the masters,* commencing with Robert X., 1265, and ending with Christopher Chalfont, who was the last master, and resigned in 1553.

After the dissolution the Hospital, in the second year of Edward VI. reign, passed into private hands; but in the fourth year of Elizabeth's reign, the mayor and burgesses asserted their ancient rights as patrons, and in order to make it a royal foundation, they granted the Hospital and all its lands to the Queen. Three days afterwards the Queen made a regrant to the mayor and burgesses and their successors for ever, for the purposes of establishing a Grammar School and Almshouses. The

* See Parker's "Early History of Wycombe," p. 141.

governors of the Wycombe Grammar School and Almshouse foundation now administer this important charity; and the Rye Mead is still used by the burgesses for the depasturing of cattle, and for purposes of recreation, and is highly valued by the inhabitants of an increasing town.

DESBOROUGH CASTLE.

BY MR. R. S. DOWNS, OF WYCOMBE.

The ancient entrenchment vulgarly called "The Roundabout," but more properly Desborough Castle, is situated on a hill some little distance to the left of the main road between High Wycombe and West Wycombe, whence its outline can easily be traced.

Commencing our investigations at the eastern end of Gallows Lane, which runs immediately below Desborough Camp, we have before us the outer defence. The slope of the hill is cut away to the depth of fifty feet, so as to render the ascent in that part almost perpendicular. It may have been more perpendicular when first constructed, but the processes of agriculture, the washing down of the surface mould by rain, the crumbling caused by frosts, have, during the lapse of centuries, modified the original perpendicularity of the bank, and reduced it to a steep incline. Still there is quite sufficient remaining to give us a pretty accurate idea of its former character. From the appearance of the ground in the adjacent corner of Desborough Field, there is every indication of this outer work having at one time extended further in that direction than it does at present.

At some distance from the summit of the outer bank runs parallel with it what is apparently a remnant of one of the outer defences of the camp, and formed a terrace upon which men might be stationed to prevent an attack on the flank of the entrenchment. It was strengthened by an embankment in the front and rear, and at intervals had advanced posts for observation. As might naturally be expected, the banks and escarpments have been much modified and changed since their first construction; in some places they have become quite obliterated. What remains, however, is amply sufficient to enable the

student of antiquity to recall the probable extent and direction of the several parts of these interesting remains. The outer bank has a general height of four or five feet, which is increased in some places to fifteen feet. The inner bank in its highest portion has an elevation of seven feet, but is far from being perfect. A distance of sixty feet from thence will bring us to the edge of the camp proper, which consists of a double entrenchment, with a deep fosse on the outside, the inner slope of the ditch being raised so as to form a high bank towards the interior. The bank appears to have been considerably lowered in some places, and in others almost levelled; but if we take its original height to have been uniformly as it remains at the south-east corner, it must have been a position of great strength and importance at the time when it was constructed, or adapted for defence, if we consider the rude weapons of warfare then in use.

Actual measurement gives the following results as the dimensions of these remains: Diameter, 420ft., depth of the entrenchment from the exterior, 18ft., height of the bank from the bottom of the ditch, 22ft., ditto from the interior, 10ft., width of fosse, 20ft.

There can be little doubt that there was a building here at one time of considerable strength, as the remains of old tiling, hewn stones, and masonry plainly indicate. Whilst felling the trees which grew here about 1743, portions of stone Gothic work were dug up resembling the jambs of a church window.

Of the once famous Desborough Castle nothing now remains but the name, and the tradition that such a building once existed here.

Mrs. Matthew Hall, in her "Queens Before the Conquest," says: "To the period of these intestine divisions in Mercia may perhaps be referred the building of the ancient Castle of Desborough, in Buckinghamshire, which some think was named after Ethelburga, who is occasionally called Desburga." In a foot note she cites Camden as her authority. Ethelburga was Queen of Ina, King of Wessex, and the period referred to is about 720 A.D.

When this earthwork was constructed, by whom, for what purpose, or whence it acquired its present designation, are all alike shrouded in obscurity by the mists of

time, and are each a matter of conjecture. It has been supposed to be of British origin, and to have had some relation to the religious ceremonies of the early Celtic tribes, or to have been formed by them for defensive purposes. It has also been attributed to the Saxons, and upon the Ordnance maps it is marked as a "Danish Camp." Several narrow trackways or lanes converge towards Desborough; and there can be no reasonable doubt there were formerly others that have been destroyed during the course of centuries that have elapsed since their construction, and especially since the disappearance of the town, which occupied the site of Desborough Field. There was an ancient vicinal way which passed from the Watling Street, between Tring and Chesham, *via* Missenden, to Desborough (of which perhaps Green Street is a remnant), where it united with another old trackway from the Icknield Road from Bledlow through West Wycombe. It probably ran under Desborough, through Newland to join the Windsor Way, now occupied by the stream called the Dyke, crossing the old Marlow and Amersham Road near the Loke, and thence by the Roman Villas in the Rye, by Bassetsbury, towards Loudwater and Wooburn. The road through the valley from the ancient stronghold of Aylesbury, by Risborough and Bradenham, ran directly to Desborough, and not, as it does now, to High Wycombe. The present road was made by Lord Despencer; but the course of the older road can be easily traced by a row of trees, from the Obelisk at the entrance to West Wycombe village, in a south-easterly direction until it emerges into Chapel Lane. This road is marked throughout its course by remains of earthworks. In this part of its course it connected the strongholds at West Wycombe, Desborough, and Keep Hill. It should also be noticed that the road wound round the foot of the hills, and that its course is directed from station to station. The locality to which all these roads tended must have been a place of importance. That is a conclusion which forces itself upon us with unmistakable significance.

The narrow, winding course of all these roads, and the evident lack of that scientific construction which the formation of Roman roads invariably displays, seem

to indicate that they are of British origin, and formed the lines of communication between this district and the Icknield Street in one direction, and the road Romanized into Watling Street in the other.

If then these old roads leading from different points toward Desborough were pre-Roman in their origin, it is but reasonable to infer that the place to which they led was also in existence in an age anterior to the Roman occupation of Britain, because all these roads would owe their formation to the traffic to and from the localities they connected, and would, consequently, be later in their origin than the strongholds between which they ran.

It is well known, too, that the Saxons almost invariably fixed upon the locality of British strongholds as sites for their towns, and, since Desborough was the head of the Saxon Hundred, it must, at that early period, have been a place of note, which again points to the probability that the spot, which the English settlers in this part of the country adopted as their headquarters, had held a position of importance in the district previous to their arrival.

All these considerations seem to point strongly to a British origin of the village of Desborough, if not of the Camp also. Desborough Field is, no doubt, the site of a British and Saxon village, and perhaps of a Roman settlement, for coins of the empire and other Roman remains have been found in it.

Although we have no direct evidence that a road was constructed by the Romans through this valley, we have ample indirect evidence that an important thoroughfare ran in this direction, during their occupation of Britain; and the discovery of remains of undoubted Roman origin, such as urns, pavements composed of tesseræ, coins, etc., in the neighbourhood, leads to the conclusion that they had a permanent settlement here. The reason that there are no signs of a Roman road apparent along our valley may, perhaps, be accounted for by the fact that they found, in the old trackways of which I have spoken, ample accommodation already provided.

At the establishment of the Heptarchy, Buckinghamshire at first formed part of the Kingdom of Wessex, but was afterwards included in Mercia. At that time,

Desborough, though now depopulated, was a place of importance, as the name of the Hundred was taken therefrom, and there the Hundredary held his court.

The formation of this earthwork has also been attributed to the Danes, and though we may be loth to run counter to popular conceit, its position and form suggest that it was intended by its constructors for defensive purposes, and this considerably weakens, if it does not destroy, the probability of its being the work of the Danes, who were mostly acting on the aggressive. If it possesses any association with them at all, it is from its having been constructed by the English against the ravages of those fierce depredators.

Langley thinks that from its double fortifications, it may be of Saxon origin, and that its position near the grand road to London might design it as a check to the inroads and devastations of the Danes, who more than once made excursions this way. There is scarcely any doubt, whatever may have been the early origin of the circular entrenchment, whether British or not, the Camp, as we see it at the present time, is of English formation, and was designed to resist an attack from invaders passing along the road beneath, and that an assault from the opposite direction was not expected; and, further, that it was constructed so as to be able to resist an attack directed upon it from the east. This is exactly what we should expect to find, supposing it to have been formed as a defence against the Danes, marching along the ancient trackway which passes immediately below; and the occasion which answers most closely to this description, was that of 1010, when, Florence of Worcester expressly states, they passed through Chiltern to Oxford. I think, upon due consideration of all the circumstances of the case, we shall not greatly err by fixing upon that date as the time when it was brought into the form it now presents, if not primarily constructed then. On that occasion the Danes must have passed through this valley, as it lay directly in their route from London to Oxford.

As Desborough was the head of the Hundred to which it gave its name, it will not be out of place, if I give an account of the constitution and powers of the Hundred among the Anglo-Saxons, and trace their cor-

responding authority in our present system of government.

The political institutions of the Anglo-Saxons were extremely primitive and homely in their character. Local self-government, which is still the distinguishing feature of England and the safeguard of our liberties, was the foundation of all their civil organizations. The country was divided into a number of concentric circles, of which the Hall was the inner, and the Kingdom the outer ring—the county was the unit of which the aggregate was the whole nation. There is scarcely a modern language which has a corresponding term to the English word "Home," and the trait in our character which has invested it with its peculiar significance we derive from our Saxon forefathers and their customs.

In the first and lowest place there was the Court of Sac and Soc, or Hall-Mote, the assemblage of the Lord and his free tenants for the regulation of the affairs of each principal estate; then came the Burgh-Mote, Folk-Mote, or Town Council, over which the Borough-Reeve presided. After the Conquest he was called the Mayor (Latin, *Major*, through Norman-French). Next in extent of jurisdiction was the Hundred-Mote, forming the stepping-stone through the Trything to the Shire-Mote, under the Shire-Reeve, whom we now call the Sheriff. Including and combining all these little republics was the Witana-Gemote, or assembly of wise men under the King for the whole country, occupying the place of our Parliament.

It is not known for certain how the term Hundred was first applied, nor has it been exactly determined what was its origin. It is, however, supposed that, in the first instance, the Hundred was composed of ten tithings—that is, one hundred families, each tithing consisting of ten. Some authorities, on the other hand, contend that the Hundred was a territorial division, not of the population, but of the land. By a careful analysis of the records given in Domesday Book, it has been proved that, as regards Bedfordshire, the Hundred anciently consisted of one hundred hides of land, and the same is asserted by Baker to have been the case in Northamptonshire.

The Hundred-Mote was held monthly, under the pre-

sidency of the Hundredary, who was generally, if not always, a thane or nobleman residing within the Hundred. All the members of the Court came fully armed, in imitation of their Teutonic ancestors, and this custom gave rise to the name of wapentake, from *wapen*, arms, and *tac*, take, a term which is still preserved in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Before the business of the Court commenced, all the members touched the Hundredary's spear with their own, an outward acknowledgment of his authority, their willingness to submit to his ruling, and readiness to fight under his command; for the Hundredary was captain of his district in time of war, as well as civil magistrate in time of peace. In these Courts, the archdeacon, and sometimes the bishop, presided, in conjunction with the Hundredary, and they took cognizance of all matters relating to the Hundred, both civil and ecclesiastical, within the bounds of the district; but they did not possess the power of inflicting capital punishment, and an appeal lay from them to the Trything and the Shire-Mote.

Among the Anglo-Saxons every species of crime, even murder, was punishable by fine, and the Hundredary received, for the performance of his duties, one-third of all fines inflicted in his Court. The petty sessions for the Hundred have grown out of this jurisdiction. But the usefulness of this Court extended beyond its strictly judicial proceedings. In times when the art of reading and writing was confined to comparatively few of the population, the stability and correctness of pecuniary transactions depended greatly upon oral testimony. All sales, transfers, conveyance of property, etc., were publicly attested before the Hundred-Mote, and its decision upon all points of disputed rights or privileges was deemed conclusive. Occasionally we find the authority of the Hundred referred to in Domesday Book. For instance, the account of Toweridge, in West Wycombe, which was held by Roger, the ancestor of the Dayrell family, concludes:—"A vassal of Archbishop Stigand held this land, and could not sell or give it out of the Manor of Wicumbe, as the Hundred witness." The same is recorded in reference to the manor afterwards known as Temple Wycombe, which was then held by a certain William, of the Earl Moreton, uterine brother of the Conqueror.

Sometimes adjacent Hundreds associated themselves together, and had one joint mote to which the separate courts might appeal. Buckinghamshire appears to have been divided into several "three Hundreds," or Trythings, as Aylesbury (Elesberie, Risberge, and Stane); Newport (Bonestou, Moulesho, and Sigelai); Ashendon (Essendene, Votesdone, Tichesele); Cottesloe (Cotoslai, Mureslai, and Elai); Buckingham (Stoldfald, Rovelai, and Le Merse).

In the south part of the county, the three associated Hundreds were Stoke, Burnham, and Desborough. These, the Chiltern Hundreds, have been by privilege annexed to the Crown, and still have their own separate courts. The steward of these courts is appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a salary of 20s. and all fees belonging to the office, and since it is an appointment of profit, the steward must vacate his seat in Parliament.

It was the rule among all northern nations to hold their courts in the open air, either upon a natural eminence, or upon an artificial mound, and their descendants continued the custom after their settlement in this country. The account which I have given of the Hundred-Mote, and the mode of its procedure, is necessarily brief; but I think it contains sufficient information to enable any one who has cultivated his imaginative faculties to picture to himself the scene which might have been witnessed here at Desborough a thousand years ago. As we look upon this historic spot, the mind, in a second of time, if stored with the requisite knowledge, can retrace the extent of centuries, repeople the scene afresh, and re-enact the doings which have rendered it famous. But, as Carlyle observes, "the eye sees what it has the power to see," and it is the habit of observation and association which enables the man of taste and learning to detect the beauties and catch the inspiration of a scene which will escape the notice of the ordinary and uncultivated mind.

Near here, too, was one of the numerous places of execution where the robbers who formerly infested this district were hung. The name "Gallows Lane," which has been perpetuated to our own day, brings most vividly before our minds the former lawless character of the inhabitants of the hill country—"Ciltria," as Matthew

Paris calls it. During the reign of the feeble Henry III., freebooters flourished here amazingly; but in the time of his son and successor, Edward I., very severe laws were passed for their suppression, and the better protection of the inhabitants of the adjacent lowlands, and travellers passing through the district. The steward of the Chiltern Hundreds found his office anything but a sinecure, and so vigorously were the laws enforced against the hordes of banditti, that for a time they were almost extirpated; but during the unsettled times which followed, especially in the reign of Richard II., they again became numerous, and it was not until almost within living memory that the neighbourhood was thoroughly freed from the terrorism of the highwaymen, who rendered this part of the country a byword on account of their frequent and daring robberies, not uncommonly accompanied by murder, which they committed.

As I have before hinted, the remains of masonry which have at various times been discovered within the camp plainly point to the former existence of a building of some sort, but not, I think, of the character assigned to it by Mrs. Hall. Its position and form exactly answer to the description of a fortified British village given by Roman writers. It was the custom of the Britons to select a spot within a forest, clear a space by felling the trees, and, in the space thus formed, to erect their huts, the whole being surrounded by a ditch and stockade. We have in this locality three such spots—West Wycombe Hill and Keep Hill, each with decided British remains, and Desborough between them, with a camp as well as fortifications. Thither the inhabitants of the district fled for safety and protection, when the glare of the watchfires gave notice of the approach of their enemies.

The field in which this entrenchment is situated is called Ald-Hollands, a term which refers to the ancient hollows or ditches on the high ground. The word Desborough is written in Domesday Book "Dustenberg" and "Dusteberge," and in the Charter of 21 King Henry III. (1237) to Wycombe borough, and also in its confirmation by Edward I. in 1285, we find the name of "Ric. de Dusteberg," as one of the twenty-six burgesses of Wycombe who ratified that document on behalf

of themselves and their fellow-townsmen. In 25 Henry III. (1241), the name of "Andrewe Dusteleberwe" occurs in an account of lands at Little Missenden.

These references indicate that Desborough was occupied as late as the thirteenth century, although even at that period the population was gradually drifting eastwards towards Wycombe, leaving the older site vacant. It is rather a significant fact that the modern development of the town is gradually approaching the ancient ground, and once more covering it with buildings, and that one of the streets should have been dedicated by the name of "Desborough," so that now the newly-built cottage may occupy the exact site of an aboriginal hut. It is somewhat doubtful whether the new roads will ever extend beyond the limit of the parish of High Wycombe; but still it is within the range of possibility, and in such a case Desborough may yet be repeopled, and become an important suburb of Wycombe, although in a different parish.

The latter part of the word, "burg," "berg," or "borough," signifies a hill fortress; but the derivation of its descriptive member is entirely unknown, and altogether a matter of conjecture. Langley, the historian of Desborough Hundred, says:—

"To me it appears probable that the name of the place took its rise from the two towns Wycombe and Marlow, 'Duo burgi,' and the Saxon would agree with this derivation."

Mr. Delafield, as quoted by Langley, remarks:—

"Its round form and double fortification would induce one to think it a work of the Saxons. And its situation near the grand road to London might design it as a check to the inroads of the Danes. From thence, perhaps, it might get the name of Danesborough, Densborough, now shortened to Desborough, as being a fortress on the hill designed to put a stop to the ravages of that barbarous people. For I can hardly allow myself to imagine that it got its name from them as being their work.

"This very place might be designed as a Folk-mote, *i.e.*, a place for the meeting of the folk or people to consult about their mutual defence in a more than ordinary danger, upon the apprehension of the invasion of an

enemy. It was from this original design, we may presume, that this place, upon the setting out of Hundreds, was continued to be the place of meeting of the people. This conjecture being admitted, may it not have been called Desborough, *quasi* Deys or Daysborough, *i.e.*, the place of borough or judgment? Day or Dey (saith Dr. Kennet) in the Saxon tongue signifies the administration of justice."

In another place this quaint old writer says:—

"Might it not be called Dwysborough, from its double entrenchment, *dwy* in the ancient British being *duo*, or two. Or else, perhaps, it might have a religious relation from the British *Diw* or *Dyw*, Deus; or from Dis, the first fabulous people of this island. So that Disborough, in this sense, will be a sacred fortification."

These derivations are very ingenious and fanciful, but are not to the point. The most probable is "Deysborough," the place of justice; and in the north of England, daysman signifies a judge or arbiter, and in this sense it is used in the Bible, "Neither is there any daysman betwixt us" (Job ix. 33). If the name had been derived from the Danes, we should have expected to find some indication of its origin in its orthography; but the name, as far as my knowledge extends, never once occurs under either of the suggested forms. As to his last suggestion, it is evident that the Saxons would not derive their names from Celtic roots; an English "borough" of the British "Dys," or "Dis," is an etymological absurdity.

None of these derivations will explain the name as anciently written, though the one is supported by the local tradition which assigns the formation of the camp to the Danes, and the other by the undoubted historical fact of its being the head of the Hundred; for, while giving a plausible etymology of the modern form of the word, they entirely fail to explain the old name. Langley himself, although he derives the name from the Danes, is unwilling to assign the work to them, but supposes it to be of more remote antiquity.

There is a village in Northamptonshire called Desborough, which is written *Deisburg* in Domesday Book; but it would appear that, although the two names are now identical, they were not so formerly, nor is it pro-

bable that they had a common origin. There is a further explanation I can offer, though I must confess it does not seem quite satisfactory; still, as the whole is a matter of conjecture, there is room for another suggestion, which may probably account for the origin of the name.

If Dusteberg is the original name (and, from the quotations given above, extending over two centuries, it appears that *duste* was the accepted form of the first syllable), and Desborough a corrupt modification of it, then we must certainly look to the former in order to trace out its derivation and meaning. This being so, the root from which it acquired its designation was an old Teutonic adjective, *duster*, signifying "dark," "gloomy," from its having been, at the time of the Saxon settlement, a gloomy spot in that extensive and almost impassable forest which anciently covered the whole of the Chiltern district. That our forefathers frequently, may, almost invariably, named their towns and villages from the natural features of the spot, is well-known to all who have studied the local nomenclature of this country.

There is a local tradition that two armies were encamped in this vicinity, the Saxons on Desborough Hill, and the Danes on Castle Hill; and that a fierce struggle took place between them in the valley below. Human remains, such as skulls, leg bones, etc., are said to have been discovered in the meadow adjoining, and also near the banks of the stream. It is likewise asserted that an old sword was turned up by the plough in Desborough Field. Another tradition makes it the burial place of an ancient religious house formerly standing here, but of this there is no confirmatory record.

The hill has a romantic history. Here we gaze upon an entrenchment which probably dates from the earliest dawn of our history. Here the startled aborigines in all probability sought shelter and defence when the valley beneath glittered with the spears of the invading Romans. Here, too, when superior military science prevailed, as it always does ultimately, over mere valour, the victorious Roman placed his cohorts to command the surrounding country. Beacon fires blazed here when the English first penetrated this beautiful valley, and afterwards their scouts doubtless watched here for the

coming of the scourge of the land—the dreaded Raven of the Dane.

Considering the interesting character of these remains, and the many historical associations with which they are interwoven, it is somewhat singular that no full account respecting them has hitherto been given in any of the local or county histories dealing with this district.

And yet there is not a more striking monument of antiquity within a circuit of several miles. I trust, therefore, that the account which I am able to give of it will excite the attention of those interested in such matters, and be the means of inducing some one who has more leisure at his disposal than I, to devote his energies to the elucidation of its history. We ought, I think, to be thankful that modern utilitarianism has not destroyed this ancient curiosity among our local antiquities; and it is incumbent upon the present generation to preserve intact all such relics of the past, and to perpetuate whatever traditions or facts may be known respecting them.

THE DANES IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BY MR. R. S. DOWNS, OF WYCOMBE.

Under the general name of Danes are included all those hordes of fierce Northmen from Jutland and Scandinavia who, from the eighth to the eleventh century, were continually invading and devastating Anglo-Saxon Britain. There is much confusion in the chronology of those troublous times, and in the following account of the Danes in Buckinghamshire, I have followed the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,* which is usually considered the most trustworthy authority.

The first landing of the Danes took place in the year 787; but for some time their operations were confined to the districts lying near the coast, or adjacent to the mouths of navigable rivers; and it does not appear that they extended their ravages as far inland as Buckinghamshire until about a century and a half after their first

* Edited by J. A. Giles. D.C.L, late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

arrival in this country. In 893 they made a raid up the Thames valley under Hasten, when, according to Langley,* they threw up the horseshoe entrenchments near Danesfield House, at Medmenham, which are still locally known as the Danes' Ditches. After that they frequently passed through this district during their pillaging expeditions into Mercia and Wessex.

In 906 they passed this way from East Anglia, but finding King Edward invincible, they made peace with him at Ickford † in this county. According to Higden the Danes fortified both sides of the Ouse at Buckingham in 913; and these defences were further strengthened by Edward the Elder in 918.

After their repulse at Towcester in 921,‡ the Danes came southward, and made night attacks in the province of Buckingham on those who were off their guard, carrying away men as well as cattle, and butchered many of the inhabitants between Birnwood § and Aylesbury. Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, and daughter of King Alfred, is said to have prevailed upon her brother, Edward the Elder, to repair Eldsbury after it had been laid waste by those ferocious invaders.

It is thought by some that the White Leaf Cross at Monks Risborough commemorates a victory gained by the Saxons at this time over the pagan Danes at Bledlow (*Bledelawe*—the bloody hill). In this latter parish there is another but smaller cross cut on the slope of Winhill (*win*—the battle field). But the fact that there are two crosses so close together, and of different shape, the Risborough cross being of the Latin form, and the Bledlow cross Greek, somewhat detracts from the probability of the truth of this conjecture. It must further be remarked that, although the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Florence of Worcester, and other early authorities, mention this incursion, there is not a word in any of them which could be construed as indicating a victory of the Saxons over the Danes at that time; but quite the reverse.

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* "The Hundred of Desborough," p. 336.

† Ang.-Sax. Chronicle, where it is called "Hitchingford"; Flor. Wigorn calls it "Yttingaford," and fixes the date in 901.

‡ Flor. Wigorn gives this event under the year 918.

§ The Ang.-Sax. Chronicle calls it "Burnham Wood."

I am inclined to think that the battle at Bledlow took place on an earlier occasion, and was that engagement in which the chronicler tells us the Danes found Edward the Elder invincible. As they came from East Anglia it is highly probable that they marched along the old Icknield Street, which passes through Bledlow and directly under Winhill; where, being defeated by Edward, they marched westward under the hills; but being closely pursued by the victorious Saxons, they were obliged to submit to terms of peace, which were ratified at Ickford, a village on the Thame, a few miles north-west from Bledlow. Near the banks of the river, and at a short distance from the bridge, which connects Ickford with Draycott, are the remains of some earthworks, which were probably thrown up on this occasion.

It is to be noted that there are several hamlets in that part of the Vale of Aylesbury which borders on Bernwood Forest, bearing names of Danish origin. Among others I may mention four which have an undoubted Danish terminal, viz., Tythorpe, Eythorpe, Bixthorpe, and Southorpe. It is curious to notice, too, that the variations in two of these names, Edrop and Sedrup, have followed the identical modification of the same suffix which may be found in Denmark in the present day, where *thorpe* has passed into *trup, drup,* or *rup.*

From this circumstance, I think we may infer that the Danes settled in that district in considerable numbers, probably after the Treaty of Ickford. The camp at Chilton is thought to have had its origin about this time. At Dinton, in the same neighbourhood, there is a tradition that the so-called dwarf alder, which has red buds and bears red berries, was germinated from the blood of the fallen Danes: hence its name of Daneswort. To the same period have been referred the Camps at Cholsbury and Velvet Lawn, and some of the other entrenchments which are found upon the Chilterns. A Danish battle axe was discovered in 1858 at Benhill Field, in the hamlet of Walton, doubtless a relic of the period just mentioned, when the barbarian Northmen sacked Aylesbury. From the quantity of human remains found at the same spot it is conjectured that an engagement had taken place there, and that the men and horses slain in the contest had been buried in the trenches where they lay.

In January, 1010,* the army of the Danes sallied from their ships, and traversing the wood called Chiltern, marched to Oxford, which they plundered and burned, pillaging the country on both sides of the River Thames as they returned to their ships. This expedition is often assigned to the year 1009, from its being mentioned under that date in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; but it is there expressly stated to have occurred after midwinter. In the summer of the same year they again ravaged northern Buckinghamshire on their way from Oxfordshire to Bedford, passing along the Ouse, burning the towns and butchering men and animals as they went, and afterwards retreating to their ships with much plunder. During this incursion they attacked both Buckingham and Newport.

The course of the Great Ouse through Buckinghamshire to Bedford is considered by some to have been the southern boundary of the Danish territory in the midland district, and many persons, even now, profess to be able to detect a marked difference in the dialect of the people living on the left bank of the stream, from those on the right, the former exhibiting several peculiarities of speech, attributable to the influence of the Danes, which are not met with in the central and southern portions of the county.

In 1011 we are told that Buckinghamshire and the adjacent districts had been ruined with fire and sword by the Danes; and that in spite of truce and tribute, they plundered the miserable people and slew them.

In 1013 Sweyn marched through this county to Oxford. Having passed the Watling Street, he published an order to his troops to the effect that they should lay waste the fields, burn the villages, plunder the churches, slay without mercy all the men who fell into their hands, reserving the women to satisfy their lusts, and, in short, to do all the mischief they could. This account, from one of our early historians, gives us a pretty accurate idea of what the inhabitants of this and other parts of England had to suffer whenever the Danes honoured them with a visit, although we must allow that the massacre of S. Brice (1002) may be taken as a set-off

* Flor. Wigorn.

against the cruelties of Sweyn in avenging his sister's death.

In 1016 Cnut, son of Sweyn, and Edric Streon overran Mercia, passing through Buckinghamshire into Bedford. In the same year Ethelred the Unready died, and Edmund Ironsides was proclaimed his successor in London, and acknowledged king by the Saxons of the south; while the Danes and Angles of the north and east submitted to the rule of Cnut who, after the assassination of Edmund, became sole King of England.

According to some authorities, two battles were fought at Ashendon between the English and the Danes, in 871 and 1016; but there can be little doubt that the first of these engagements took place in Berkshire, and the other in Essex.

The permanent settlement of a people in any particular portion of a country is generally attested by remains of their language being incorporated in the local nomenclature of the district. In some parts of England the names of towns, villages, and hamlets which are of undoubted Danish origin, occur very frequently, and are met with in every direction, indicating the settled occupation of those places by a race speaking the language whence their names were derived. Now, although in Buckinghamshire the Danes have, comparatively speaking, left but few traces of their presence in the matter of local names, there are still sufficient evidences to prove that they had considerable influence here, especially in the north-east part of the county, and the other districts already mentioned.

We must carefully distinguish between those local names which were associated with the Danes by the English, such, for instance, as Danesfield, Deadman Dane Bottom, and those which are in themselves of direct Danish origin, and which, we may reasonably conjecture, were imposed by the Danes themselves.

It is probable that the Danes did not settle here generally in any great numbers, but that they were interspersed as landowners throughout the whole county, more especially in that portion of the north cut off by the Watling Street, which it is well known was the line of demarcation between the Saxon and the Danish districts. Local names are the beacon lights of primeval

history; they are not merely arbitrary sounds devoid of meaning, but are full of historical and physical import. A study of the ancient names of Bucks will greatly assist us in wading through the avenues of a distant and uncertain past; and enable us to gain an approximate estimate of the extent of the power of the Northmen in this county.

Worsaae in his *Danes and Northmen* enumerates but three local names in Bucks which have a common Danish terminal. One of these is "by" which I do not think occurs; the other two "thorpe," while in Yorkshire he has accounted for above 400. This indicates the relative influence of the Danes in the two counties. His calculation as regards this county is certainly much below the number, but the Danish and Anglian dialects were so nearly akin that it is extremely difficult sometimes to determine from which source a name is derived.

At Newport, which is situated eastward of Watling Street, they seem to have had a settlement of some importance. It is very probable that Ulf, who was the owner of the manor *temp.* Edward the Confessor, as recorded in Domesday Book, was a Dane. According to the same invaluable record, Haversham belonged to Gunhilda, sister of Sweyn, King of Denmark, and mother of King Harold, slain at Hastings. Haversham itself is, apparently, derived from the Danish *Hafr.* The name of Swanbourne is traceable to another Dane, Suen or Swan, Earl of Essex, who held the manor in early times, and was standard-bearer to Edward the Confessor. Indeed, the arms not only of Wycombe and Buckingham, but also of the county itself are derived by some from a personal device of this Danish chieftain. Simpson, another village in this part of the county, was anciently called Suenstone, a name derived from the same Danish patronymic, *Svend.* Lathbury is another Danish name, (*Lade* = barn), and so is Lavendon (*Lund* = grove), Olney (*oe* = isle), Woolston (the town of Ulf) and Ravenstone, (Ravn's-town or station). Ravenstone * is situated just within the Danish district, and may have acquired its designation from the standard of the Raven, the war flag of the Northmen, erected there, as an indication of their

* *Cf.* Ravenspur, in Yorkshire.

rule over that part of the country. The Raven was Odin's sacred bird, and he is sometimes called "Ravnegud," (the raven-god). The ravens Hugin and Mumin sat on his shoulders, and only flew away to bring him intelligence of what happened in the world. The Standard of the Raven is first mentioned in English history in 898, when the Danes, under the sons of Regner Lodbrog, were defeated in the south of England. It is said that the flag was cunningly woven by the daughters of Regner, and from it the Danes took auguries of victory or defeat. If the raven fluttered its wings, Odin gave them a sign of conquest; if its wings hung down, it portended defeat.

I have by no means exhausted the list of Danish names to be found in this county; but those I have mentioned, all lying in the north-eastern district, may be taken as examples indicating the extent and character of their influence in Buckinghamshire, rather than furnishing a complete survey of the subject. A careful examination of the local names in other parts of the county would doubtless yield similar results.*

Having said thus much in reference to the Danes in Buckinghamshire generally, it is time now to speak more particularly of that locality so intimately connected with them which, if time had permitted, you would have visited to-day—Deadman Dane Bottom.

Deadman Dane Bottom is the name applied to a deep ravine near Hazlemere running at right angles to the high road from Wycombe to Amersham. It is bounded on either side by abrupt clay-covered chalk hills. The spot has a wild and romantic outline, and is exactly such a position as we might imagine would be seized upon by the Saxons wherein to make an effort to retard the further progress of the Danes through their territory. The locality presented in those early times a very different aspect from that which it wears to-day. The cleared spaces and cultivated fields which we now see were then part of a wild moorland covering the tract still known as Wycombe Heath. This heath, or common,

* The hamlet of Denham, N.E. of Quainton, in Central Bucks, probably obtained its name from an eminence near, by tradition reputed to have been occupied by the Danes. On the hill there are traces of military earthworks, and many human bones have been found at various times.

was of considerable extent, portions of it stretching away into adjacent parishes. It is now enclosed. The higher portion of the country was covered with woods, forming part of that extensive forest which formerly occupied the whole of the Chiltern district, and of which King's Wood, Penn Wood, etc., are remains. There were two hamlets here—Hazlemoor, Hazlemere, or Hazel Hatch on the borders of the Heath, and Grendon, nearer Wycombe. The character of the district in former times is plainly indicated by the occurrence of such local names as Sladmere, Hazelmere, Widmere, Holmere, etc., all of which, probably, at first, ended in "moor." The modern terminal syllable in these names is not, I think, as often supposed, *mere*, a small lake; but *mære* or *gemære*, which occurs so frequently in Anglo-Saxon Charters, and signifies the boundary between two estates.

This valley has been from time immemorial associated with the Danes, both by the name it bears and by traditions preserved and handed down for many generations, which make it the scene of a terrible battle between them and the English. Now, as regards the name of the place, I must remark that it has been urged that it might have been obtained without any connection with the Danes. It is frequently called Deadman *Dean* Bottom, and sometimes simply Dean Bottom, an appellation which might have been suggested by the physical conformation of the locality—a narrow valley, bounded by wooded eminences. Within a short distance to the north-west there are three other places similarly named, viz, Upper North Dean, Lower North Dean, and Small Dean. Against this view, it may be objected that the two terms "dean" (den or dene) and "bottom" are so nearly allied to each other in signification, as to render it improbable that they would both be used in the construction of the same name, and that it utterly ignores the first part of the name as invariably applied to the place. Taking the name and the traditions together, we may look upon one as confirming the other, and consider "Deadman" as supporting the legend of the battle, and "Dane" as confirmatory of the tradition which associates the Danes with the locality, the tradition giving us the occasion and the *dramatis personæ*, the name preserving both, and lending additional probability to the truth of the tradition.

An account of the traditions connecting this spot with the Danes, and of the remains of antiquity which have been discovered here at various times, will be found in the "History of Hughenden," *Records of Buckinghamshire*, Vol. V., No. iv. p. 193 *et seq.*, and, therefore, need not be repeated here.

It appears to me that those discoveries plainly and unmistakably show that the locality was an important place in British and Roman times, whilst the warlike implements and human remains which have been found do certainly seem to give material support to the tradition of a battle being fought there with the Danes. Assuming, then, from the threefold evidence of tradition, name, and remains, almost incontestible proof of the fact that a battle did indeed take place there, I will now proceed to inquire if there be anything in authentic history which will furnish us with a clue to the time when this battle was fought.

The most likely occasion on which this engagement might have taken place was in January, 1010, when, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says, the Danes took their way up through Chiltern to Oxford. They had been wintering in London, and after the severe weather broke they set out on their journey westward. When the Danes sallied forth on these pillaging expeditions, they did not always proceed in one body, but frequently divided into two parties, which took different routes, meeting again at a given centre for future operations. Now, it happens that there are three notable places in this district connected with each other by an old road, and all associated with the Danes—Deadman Dane Bottom, Castle Hill, Wycombe, and Desborough ; and is there anything more reasonable than to suppose that, when they passed through Chiltern, they took their way past these localities, which have ever since been associated with them by tradition, and where Danish remains have frequently been found ?

The courses of some of the old roads in this district have been changed from their original direction, and others have been entirely superseded by more modern ones. There are, however, remains of an ancient road called Green Street existing in this neighbourhood, to which I should like to call your attention. The portion

still remaining runs from Hazlemere towards the site of ancient Desborough, and forms part of one of the oldest roads in this county, and is, without doubt, of British origin.

It commences near the roadside inn, the Three Horseshoes, and runs as a narrow lane about a quarter of a mile, when it loses its character as a road; but its course may be traced across a narrow field and meadow until it comes out into the road from Totteridge to Kingshill. Crossing this road, the course of the old trackway is easily traceable down to the Green, where it joins the road from Wycombe to Hughenden. Here it loses its name, although the present road doubtless lies directly in the line of the old one. Following the Hughenden road, then, into Wycombe, it conducts us to the spot now known as Frogmoor Gardens, but in ancient times "The Green." It then ran down Bull Lane and Newland, both these thoroughfares retaining the characteristic narrowness of an ancient road. It next bends westward at the point where it was formerly met by another old road called the Windsor Way, which passed between the camp on Keep Hill and the Roman station in the Rye, crossing the old Wycombe and Marlow road near where the Abbey now stands. From the point of junction of these two old ways, the road I am tracing ran along what is now called Water Lane, which is succeeded by a wider piece of straight road still preserving the name of Green Street, which terminates at Desborough Field.

Assuming my conjecture as to the occasion when the battle of Deadman Dane Bottom took place to be correct, it is probable that the Danes, after their victory, followed the direction of this ancient road towards Desborough. There is a tradition of a battle being fought there between the English and the Danes. The latter are said to have been posted on the heights bounding the Wye valley on the north, while the English occupied the stronghold called Desborough Castle, and that a terrible struggle took place near the banks of the stream between that encampment and Castle Hill. Warlike remains, supposed to be of Danish origin, have been discovered in both those localities. The military character of Desborough Castle is quite evident, and in the field below the encampment an ancient sword was turned up some

years ago, and human bones have been found in the adjacent meadows. In 1820, warlike implements and human remains were discovered on Castle Hill, but nothing of a decided Danish character, except the giant-like proportions of the bones of some of the skeletons dug up.

The road which the Danes followed after leaving Desborough and passing through West Wycombe, was not the present high road direct to Stokenchurch, but the narrow way by Chorley Farm (near which it is accompanied by a bank, still visible), along Post Lane, across the Common and through the village of Radnage, whence it takes a sudden bend by Bennet's End into Collyer's Lane to Stokenchurch, and so on to Oxford. On the left of this lane there are two tumuli in a field called Banky Barrowfield, which are probably the place of interment of persons who fell there in conflict with the Danes.

The period of which I have been treating is one of bloodshed, anarchy, and violence; yet out of those calamities a wise, over-ruling Providence decreed that good should spring, not only to our own land, but also, it is not too much to say, to the whole world. By their repeated attacks, the Danes at length extirpated those rival dynasties whose incessant feuds had been so baneful to the prosperity of the Anglo-Saxons. The Northmen annihilated the remnants of the Heptarchy, by forcing our forefathers, in self-defence, into a national confederacy. Cruel as the process was by which that desirable result was brought about, yet upon the ruins of the chaotic Saxon and Anglian states was destined to arise that England, one and undivided, of which we are all so justly proud; and the vanquished and demoralized Anglo-Saxon, now invigorated with fresh energy from the North, bursts forth into all the might and dignity of the Englishman.

Looking upon that distant past with the knowledge and experience of the present, I think it must be conceded that, notwithstanding all the disasters and troubles which afflicted our country then, our prosperity and happiness of to day would not be what it is had there never been occasion to write a paper upon "The Danes in Buckinghamshire."

PENN CHURCH.

BY THE REV. J. GRAINGER, VICAR OF PENN.

THERE is no record of the date of building. The structure has been subjected to repeated alterations. In 1863 the interior was, to a certain extent, restored by the liberality of the first Earl Howe. The high irregular pews, together with a "three-decker" and two galleries, were removed. At that time it was found necessary to reconstruct some of the windows. In 1865, the east wall and window of the modern brick chancel (1736) were taken down, and replaced by a flint wall, with painted window, by the liberality of the same generous patron.

The first notice relating to the church which has come to my knowledge, is that—

"Nicholas de Langley vacated this living (then a Rectory), for the living of Hamsted in 1273."

The next is—

"The first *vicar* appears to have been Francis Henry de Erdington, presented July 4th, 1349, 'ad vicarium de Penne de novo ordinatum,' by Chacombe Convent. He died vicar 1361."

The Rectory of Penn, before the time of Henry VIII., belonged to the Priory of Chacombe,* in Northamptonshire, having been granted thereto by Lord Segrave (see Lipscombe), probably in, or shortly before 1349, when the first vicar is said to have been appointed. Its value, as recorded in the King's books, was £8 13s. 4d. After the dissolution of Monasteries it was given to David Penn, whose wife Sibyll had been nurse to Edward VI. The great tithes and presentation to the vicarage are still in possession of his descendants.

The state of the interior of the Church in 1637 is minutely described in the "State Papers (Domestic)" of Charles I.

"Mr. Pen's seat to be taken down to the mark, it being covered, and two yards and a half high . . . . A

* The following is the entry in Dugdale's "Monasticon" under the head of "Priory of Chaucombe":—

"28 Henry VIII. Augmentn Office.
"Com. Buk'.
"Pen Reddit Cotag ..... 0 : 2 : 8
"Pen Firmæ Rector' ..... 10 : 0 : 0"

high seat at the upper end of the S. aisle, viz., Mr. Carye's, built as high as Mr. Pen's. . . . Mr. Long and Mrs. Butterfields seats stand into the middle aisle, and are to be taken down to the mark. The pavement in decay. Two windows in the aisle in the chancel partly dammed up."

The old chancel, above referred to, was taken down in 1736. Why, is not known. The reason is more inexplicable by reason of the following entry in the Register, date 1714.

"Roger Penn, Esq., Patron of the Parish, caused the chancel to be wainscotted and railed in, at his own charge, and gave a new Table."

It would seem as if the body of the church originally consisted only of the nave and chancel. In the south wall of the nave are clerestory windows (at least perforations for the same), exactly corresponding to windows in the north wall. The roof of the nave (the pitch of which has manifestly been heightened) is now extended so as to cover the south aisle, and shut in the three windows. The arches opening the south aisle to the nave are manifestly made by breaking through the south wall. This is confirmed by an entry in the Register book.

"In February, 1733, y^e^ arch against y^e^ Pulpit was enlarged."

BRASSES.

1. The earliest is that of Elizabeth Rok, 9th August, 1540. She is represented in a shroud open in front down to the waist, so as to exhibit the face and upper part of the body.

The inscription is as follows, in a scroll, now imperfect, above the effigy:

of Judgement
. . . . day lorde d . . . .*

Beneath the effigy—

"God which art Creatour and Redemer of all faithfull people; Graunt unto ye soule of Elizabeth Rok thy servaunt and also to the soules of all trew bilevers depted rempssyon of all their synes that through devout prayours they may attayne thy gracious pdon whiche they have alwey dsyed by crist our lord. Amen."

* Probably, "In the day of judgement lorde deliver me"; and not, as Lipscombe gives it, "In the day of judgement save me lorde."

2. The next slab, in point of date, contains mutilated effigies of John Pen, Esq., lord of this manor, and Ursula, his wife, and their six sons. He died in October, 1597, aged 63. For the date of the death of Ursula a blank was left, which was never filled up. At the bottom of the brass are these lines —

Horum terreno clauduntur membra sepulchro,
Sed capiunt animas sydera sola pias.
Quos amor univit mortis superare potestas
Non valuit junctos cer(n)imus hoc tumulo.

3. The next slab consists of the incised effigies of William Pen, Esq. (1638), and Martha his wife (1635), as also of one son and two daughters. The figure of the son is represented in a demi-suit of armour; he has a Vandyke falling collar and huge jack-boots.

4. Next, as to date, comes a slab bearing the incised brass effigy of Lady Susan Drury, wife of Sir Henry Drury, and mother of Mrs. Sarah Pen, wife of John Pen, Esq. Lady Drury died in 1640. She is represented by the incised brass as attired in the ordinary, but graceful costume of ladies of that period.

5. The last slab contains the incised effigies in brass of John Pen, Esq., and Sarah his wife, the daughter of Sir Henry Drury, and the effigies of their five sons and five daughters. He died in 1641, but the date of the death of his wife is not given. He is represented in body armour, but not in a complete suit. He has a Vandyke falling collar about his neck, and a pair of jack-boots with the peculiar shaped spur of the period. His lady appears in a bodiced gown with ample skirts, with full puffed sleeves close at the wrists, and a veil on her head thrown back. Of the five sons, the first is represented in a doublet, hose, and short cloak, with a plain falling collar. The second in a doublet, trunk hose, stockings, and shoes, falling collar, and cloak. The third and fourth are attired in a similar manner, whilst the youngest son appears in a child's gown with hanging sleeves. The effigies of the female children are represented in plain bodiced gowns and caps.

MONUMENTS.

Besides those in or near the chancel (too numerous for

special mention) to the Penns, Curzons, and Howes, there are two on the north wall to the Baker family.

1. To Daniel Baker, Esq., August 20, 1700, and Barbara his wife, obt. Aug. 3, 1710.

Their descendants were Daniel, an only son, and two daughters, one married to Narcissus Luttrel, of Gray's Inn, the other to Sir John Verney, of Claydon, Baronet, Viscount Fermanagh, and Baron Belturbet in Ireland.

2. To Daniel Baker, Esq., obt. 1727, and Martha, his wife, obt. 1753.

The monument was erected by their grandson, John Baker Holroyd, of Sheffield Place, Sussex, 1770.

This family had a seat in this parish at Tyler's Green.* It was sold by the above-named John Baker Holroyd, at what date I am not aware, but it was pulled down in 1822, or thereabouts. After the Bakers, it was occupied by General Haviland; and after he, his widow, and other members of his family had left, it was rented by Mr. Burke, and used as a place of education for the sons of French refugees. The school, or seminary, was under his personal care and supervision, and persons not very long deceased remembered him riding through the village to visit the school.

My predecessor (the Rev. J. Knollis) believed that Sir William Springett (father of Gulielma, first wife of William Penn, of Pennsylvania) † lived at Tyler's Green. If this be true, it could hardly have been in any other dwelling than that of the Bakers before their time.

3. On the west wall of the south aisle is a monument to General Haviland‡ and two ladies of his family.

Here rest the remains of

GENERAL WILLIAM HAVILAND,

late Colonel of the 45th Regt. of Infantry.
An experienced and successful Commander without ostentation,
a firm friend without profession,
a good man without pretence.
He died Sept. 16th, 1784, aged 67 years.

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* See page 279.

† In the Register of the Friends' Monthly Meeting (Walthamstow), December, 1671, she is described as Gulielma Maria Springett, of Tiler's End Green, in the parish of Penn.

‡ He served under Wolfe at the siege of Quebec.

Also of MARY,
Relict of Wm. Townley Balfour, Esq.,
of the Kingdom of Ireland,
who departed this life Aug. 2nd, 1789, aged 56 years.
After, by her exemplary patience, pious resignation under a long and severe illness, impressed a genuine value upon those amiable qualities, both of the understanding and of the heart, which made her the delight of all who knew her.

Also of MARY,
Wife of Samuel Rushton Fitzherbert, Esq.,
of the Kingdom of Ireland,
in whom simplicity of manners adorned a fine understanding —the love of her duty adorned the practice of it—and her affection was rendered inestimable by the sincerity and truth with which it was accompanied.
She died Sept. 13th, 1786, aged 39 years.

This Monument, sacred to the memory of the best of husbands, an affectionate twin sister, and a dutiful daughter, is erected by their disconsolate survivor,
SALISBURY HAVILAND.*

THE FONT

is a leaden one. In the Sussex Archæological Collections (1882), it is said there are only twenty-nine leaden fonts in England.

THE ROYAL ARMS

are those of Queen Anne, set up in 1709. The motto is "Semper eadem."

STONE COFFIN,

capacious, and in a very perfect state, having a cross marked into the whole length of the lid. There are no present contents.

VAULTS.

That of the Penns and Curzons is under the chancel. There is also a large one under the north-west side of the nave, made in the last century. It contains only six small coffins, holding the remains of grandchildren of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania.

* Mrs. Salisbury Haviland was buried by her husband in the vault under his Monument, Oct. 6th, 1807. Her unmarried sister, Abigail Aston, who had lived with her, was also buried at Penn, Feb. 11th, 1814, aged eighty years.

COMMUNION PLATE.

1. A silver-gilt chalice, with a cover to it and an inscription, "Sacrum Deo et Ecclesiæ, de Penn C. F. 1617."

2. A silver paten, given by Rev. John Bennett, Vicar, 1712.

3. A silver flagon, } given by Danl. Baker, Esq.,
4. A silver alms plate, } Aug. 30, 1714.

THE TOWER

is 45 feet high, and the churchyard being 553½ feet above the level of the sea, the prospect from the summit, under favourable circumstances, is very extensive, portions of thirteen counties being visible.*

The five bells were cast by Samuel Knight, of Reading, on the 29th of December, 1702, and hung on the 5th of January following.

The clock was set up against Easter, 1715.

REGISTERS.

The earliest entry is dated October 30th, 1560, nearly forty years earlier than the oldest at High Wycombe (1598).

The usual substitution of births for baptisms lasted from 1653 to 1659. The only marriage recorded during that interval is one to which is attached the name of Mr. Francis Bassett, Justice of the Peace, before whom the marriage took place. There is no increase of burials in the year of the Plague. There are the usual affidavits of being buried in Woollen from 1678 to 1734.

There is no very old entry worthy of public notice, but there is a special one relating to our own days.

On August 17th, 1835, their Majesties, King William IV. and Queen Adelaide, with the Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, the Queen's sister, stood in person as sponsors to Adelaide Ida (now Countess of Westmoreland), daughter of Earl Howe.

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* Bucks, Berks, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hants, Wilts, Oxon, Herts, Essex, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire—three more than are *said* to be visible from the top of the Round Tower at Windsor.

VICARS.

There is a complete list drawn up from the Registers, *i.e.*, from the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I appear to be the eighteenth vicar from that date to the present time (1558—1882), giving an average tenure of eighteen years.

The only vicar who is known to have achieved distinction (?) for himself was the Rev. John Davies. The first of the only three cases ever brought before the High Court of Delegates, in which the subject matter was a charge of heresy or unsound doctrine, was that of Salter against Davies, 1690.

"A business of the office of the Judge, promoted by Tristram Salter against John Davies, Clerk, Vicar of Penn, in Buckinghamshire, in the Arches Court of Canterbury, for omitting to read, within two months of his induction to his Vicarage, as required by law, the Thirty-nine Articles, for preaching in favour of Popery, and for neglecting cure of souls in that parish, together with other offences." A sentence of sequestration followed. —(*From a Return to Parliament*, 1850.)

TYLER'S GREEN CHURCH.

This Church, dedicated to St. Margaret, was consecrated in 1854, having been erected mainly by Sir Philip Rose aided by a few voluntary subscriptions, after plans by Mr. David Brandon, architect. It is a neat building of flint with dressings of stone, in the Early English style, with a bell turret containing one bell, and affords accommodation for about 250 persons. A reredos of various marbles and Sardinian onyx, adorned with mosaics by Salviati, of Venice, was erected a few years since by Sir Philip Rose, Bart., of Rayners, after designs by Liley, of London, who also gave plans for the decoration of the chancel and the body of the church, which have since been carried out. A brass tablet fixed at the back of the credence table records as follows:

PROBITATE AC VIRTUTE.

In honor of Almighty God, and as a tribute of loving affection to his beloved wife, Dame Margaretta Rose, this reredos was erected, and the chancel of this church was enriched and beautified on the anniversary of her birth, 16 September, A.D. 1877, by Sir Philip Rose, Bart., of Rayners.

An organ built by Holditch, was erected in 1873 as a memorial to William B. Rose, Esq., and bears the following inscription on a brass label:—

> To the glory of God, and in affectionate remembrance of William Barker Rose, this organ was presented to St. Margaret's Church by the friends who attended his funeral on the 21st February, 1872.

And the chancel windows have been filled with stained glass by Sir Philip and Lady Rose, in memory of their parents and a deceased friend.

THE FRENCH EMIGRANT SCHOOL.

The following particulars of this school, in addition to the description given by Sir Philip Rose, at the meeting of the Society (see page 285), will be read with interest.

In the earlier part of 1796 Edmund Burke found active occupation in founding a school for the destitute children of emigrants who had perished by the guillotine or the sword of the revolution. With the view of being under his immediate superintendence, the house of the late General Haviland, at Penn, was selected for that purpose. It was already the property of Government, having been leased in 1794 from the person to whom it had been sold by the devisees of the deceased, as a retreat for a few of the superior, but houseless, French clergy, a design which, from unexpected obstacles, did not take effect. Being still in charge of the barrack department, it was applied for by the Marquis of Buckingham and others, through the representations of Burke. Mr. Pitt gave his assent, with an annual allowance of £600 per annum. The trustees were, in addition to the Marquis and Mr. Burke, the Duke of Portland, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Windham, and Dr. Walker King. The Abbé Maraine formed the head of the establishment, aided by the learned and esteemed Abbé Chevalier. A few notes on this subject were exchanged between Mr. Pitt, the Marquis, and Mr. Burke.

An antiquarian correspondent connected with this institution as treasurer after the death of the original founder, having politely communicated to me a few memoranda concerning it, they cannot perhaps be better given than in his own words.

"In April, 1796, the emigrant school was opened, and Mr. Burke, for the remainder of his life, watched over the institution with the solicitude, not merely of a friend, but of a father. He visited it frequently, sometimes daily, being about three miles distant from his house, and often supplied the table of masters and scholars from his own. His smiles might be said to have gladdened the hearts of the exiles; I have witnessed many interesting scenes there of that nature; they were doomed, alas! too soon to lose their kind protector. At the annual distribution of prizes, the senior scholar delivered a Latin oration in the presence of a large assembly of nobility and gentry, in the great hall, in which Mr. Burke was always alluded to as their parent and friend. He assigned to these youths a blue uniform, wearing in their hats a white cockade, inscribed 'Vive le Roi:' those who had lost their fathers had it placed on a bloody label; those who had lost uncles, on a black one. The Marquis of Buckingham made them a present of a small brass cannon, and a pair of colours, which were displayed on public days as a source of youthful pride by those descendants of suffering loyalty. After the death of Mr. Burke, I was appointed treasurer, and received from the Lords of the Treasury fifty pounds per month for the support of the establishment. Upon the restoration of legitimate monarchy in France in 1814, the money was remitted thence, until the dissolution of the institution, on the 1st of August 1820, when on the departure of the superior and the pupils, the colours were presented to me as a token of remembrance, and I retain them with satisfaction, from the interesting associations they recall. Many of the youths educated in this college, so humanely founded through the influence and under the auspices of Mr. Burke, at present (1825) occupy important stations in various parts of the dominions of the King of France, and for their success in life they ought ever to regard with sentiments of gratitude and veneration the memory of that great and good man." *

* He thus describes the house: "Penn, in Buckinghamshire, to which Mr. Burke frequently resorted as the friend of General Haviland, and latterly as patron of the emigrant school, lies about three miles north-west of Beaconsfield. Tyler's Green House, the residence of General

The superintendence of this school became a source of occupation and amusement, to divert occasional gloom, or as a relaxation from heavier labours. The interest which Burke took in its success and continuance may be judged by the earnest manner in which he bequeaths it in his will to the protection of the noble persons joined in the trust, while the wish is expressed that it may be placed under the immediate care of Dr. Walker King and Dr. Lawrence. These gentlemen, as his personal friends, and from their greater acquaintance with the details, he thought would take more interest than strangers in securing stability to an institution to which he had given existence.

The above are extracts from the "Life of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke," by James Prior, Esq., F.S.A.; and practically the same, but a less detailed, account is given in "Life and Times of Edmund Burke," by Thomas Macknight, pp. 657-8-9-60-61, vol. iii.

See also "Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke," edited by Charles William, Earl Fitzwilliam, pp. 331-3-7, 345-6-50-54, 378 of vol. iv.

Haviland, was formerly the property and residence of the Bakers, ancestors of the Earl of Sheffield, of Sheffield Place, County of Sussex. It is now no more; 'nought could reprieve the tottering mansion from its fall.' In 1822 it was sold by auction in lots, of course pulled down and carried away, so that scarcely a vestige now remains to mark the spot where senators were wont to converse, and wit, whim, and eloquence to flow in no ordinary current amid the social circle formed by the Burkes. Previous to the destruction, I had a correct drawing made of the front, which I have placed among my illustrations of the County of Bucks.

* * * * * *

However incredible it may appear, it is vouched as fact by persons of respectability in the neighbourhood, that the cannonading at the reduction of Valenciennes in 1793, was distinctly heard by the inhabitants of Penn. This, no doubt, will be laughed at by many as utterly beyond belief, but there are many authentic instances on record of the distance to which sound occasionally travels, depending, no doubt, on a peculiar state of the atmosphere at the time; it is understood, beyond question, that the cannonading on that occasion was heard at Dover. During the late war, the firing of cannon when ships were engaged at sea, during the night, has likewise been distinguished at Penn; the time has been frequently noted, and the fact shortly afterwards ascertained from the public papers."

THE OBELISKS AT RAYNERS.

To complete the local history of the places visited by the Society on August 3rd, 1882, the Editor has added a description of the obelisks mentioned in the Society's Proceedings, page 284.

On the terrace at Rayners, 550 feet above the sea level, from which an extensive view is obtained over the neighbouring counties, a row of seven trees is rapidly growing up. Their history is recorded on the four sides of a pedestal of Portland stone, surmounted by a sundial, as follows :—

East Side of Pedestal.

The seven trees of this row
were brought over as seedlings just
sprouting into life, in a handful of
earth hastily gathered from the
upheaved side of a hole made by
the bursting of a German shell
in the Park of St. Cloud,
on the 17th April, 1871,
by PHILIP ROSE, when on a visit
with his Sons, HARCOURT and GEORGE,
to the suburbs of Paris
during the Commune.
Nursed up at Rayners, and planted
here by the persons, and at the
dates mentioned on the other
sides.

Inscription—South Side.

Planted
October 13th, 1875.

1. LIME,
by
LUCY ROSE, for her brother HARCOURT,
in India.

2. HORSE CHESTNUT,
by
G. M. W. SANDFORD, Esq., M.P.

3. LIME,
by
MARGARETTA LADY ROSE

Inscription—West Side.

Centre—Horse Chestnut,
planted
4th April, 1877,
by
The Right Honourable The
EARL OF BEACONSFIELD,
Prime Minister of England,
accompanied by
Montagu Corry, Esq.,
his Private Secretary.

Inscription—North Side.

Planted
October 13th, 1875.

1. Lime,
by
George A. Ste. Croix Rose.

2. Horse Chestnut,
by
Major A. Wake, R.A.

3. Hornbeam,
by
Sir Philip Rose, Bart.

Closely adjoining one of the carriage roads in the grounds of Rayners, and under an archway formed of closely cut yews, which look as if they had been planted for the purpose, an obelisk of Portland stone and polished Peterhead granite has been erected by Sir Philip Rose, and bears the following inscriptions.

On the apex, cut in the granite:—

The Rt. Hon.
Benjamin Disraeli,
EARL OF BEACONSFIELD,
K.G.,
ever to be remembered
as Author, Orator,
Statesman, Patriot,
and Friend.
Born Dec. 21, 1804.
Died April 19, 1881.

On the pedestal, also cut in the granite:—

On April 30, 1881,

H.M. QUEEN VICTORIA

passed this spot on her way from
Windsor to Hughenden Church Yard,
to visit the last resting place of her
faithful friend and former Minister,
whose loss the Nation mourns.

By express desire, Her Majesty
followed the route taken by Lord
Beaconsfield, on returning from his
last visit to Windsor Castle,
Dec. 8—10, 1880, when he entered by
the lower lodge at Loudwater,
remained to lunch at Rayners, and
went home by Criers Hill,
A Groom of Sir Philip Rose's having
been commanded to meet the Royal
cortege at Taplow to show the way.

Proceedings of the Society.

Annual Meeting and Excursion—Aug. 3rd, 1882.

The Committee having received an invitation from Sir Samuel Wilson, to lunch at the Manor House, Hughenden, accepted it, and decided upon holding the Annual Meeting at Hughenden. The members and their friends left the Aylesbury Station, on the Great Western Railway, by the 9.20 a.m. train for High Wycombe. On arriving at Wycombe they proceeded in carriages to Desborough Castle. Here, under the guidance of Mr. R. S. Downs, of Wycombe, they climbed up the two steep escarpments of the earthworks, and made a halt in the interior stronghold, when Mr. Downs explained the various points of interest in this historic place, which he described as the most perfect example of a British camp remaining in this country. He pointed out the different lines of the entrenchment, and gave dimensions of all of them from measurements which he had himself made. Respecting the derivation of the word Desborough, and the different views which have been advanced, Mr. Downs has given in a paper printed in this current number of the Records, page 248.

Returning to Wycombe, the party drove through the town to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. J. Parker, Esq., F.S.A., of Wycombe, gave a very interesting description of the Hospital, which he has kindly written for insertion in the current number of the Records, page 245.

Upon leaving Wycombe, the party followed the London Road as far as Loudwater, and turned in at the entrance to Rayners, Sir Philip Rose's place, by the lower lodge, which stands on the highroad there, and were driven along his private road, through Magpie Lodge, and up through the Home Farm to Rayners (two miles from the lower lodge), where they partook of some slight refreshment. Here the party was joined by the Hon. T. F. Fremantle, Lady Augusta and Miss Fremantle, Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Lopes, and other guests staying at Rayners, and a number of friends and members of the Society from the neighbourhood, and after viewing the tree planted by Lord Beaconsfield, and the obelisk* erected to his memory, and to record the Queen's visit, and the Dogs' Cemetery, etc., went out at the upper lodge entrance in the village of Penn, and drove to Penn Church, where they were met by the vicar, the Rev. J. Grainger. Thence, the party drove through the adjoining hamlet of Tyler's Green (which forms a continuation of Penn village, but is actually in Wycombe parish, and where the common land is still unenclosed), passing by the large pond, and the avenue of elms on the Village Green, behind which formerly stood the old mansion, which, in the times of Pitt and Burke, was occupied as a Catholic school for the education of the sons and nephews of the French noblesse, who had

* See inscription on the same, page 282.

perished by the guillotine during the Revolution, and which was given up at the Restoration in 1814. Here the party halted, and Sir Philip Rose explained the surroundings.* The mansion belonged to General de Haviland, a relation of Mrs. Burke, and was taken for the purpose—Pitt supplying from the Treasury, £600 a year towards the expense, upon the condition that Burke would be the manager. There are some still living in the village who remember Burke on his visits to the school, in which he took the warmest interest, driving over frequently from Beaconsfield through Penn Village along this same road. (See "Life of Burke," by Prior, and others, in which the correspondence with Pitt is set out; and the reference in Burke's Diary to the school; to his visits and examination of the boys, etc., under the heading "Penn School.") There, sixty to seventy boys of the best French families were educated under the Abbé Chevalier, who was one of the principals. The boys wore a uniform, and those whose *parents* had been guillotined, a distinguishing mark. They had two cannon and flags presented to them by the Marquis of Buckingham, and a boat on the pond. The property was purchased by the first Earl Howe (Queen Adelaide's Chamberlain) and, sad to relate, was pulled down by him; and the cornices and architraves and other portions of the fine old house still form incongruous parts of some wretched cottages in the village, which were built with the old materials. The garden wall, with parts of a small building now converted into an Infant School, alone remain.

The party then visited St. Margaret's Club, founded for the working classes by Sir Philip Rose, then High Sheriff of Bucks, and opened by Lady Carrington, as the first public act of her married life, in August, 1878; and then went to St. Margaret's Church,† built and consecrated in 1854.

From the Village Green, the party passed down the hill to Potters Cross, where there are two ponds, and the cross road on the right leading to Penn Street and Penn House, one and a half miles. Up the opposite hill, along what used to be open forest with beautiful beech trees, but now cut down and enclosed, and inferior cottages built, passing near to a farm house and buildings belonging to Earl Howe, built after the enclosure, and which he called "Inkerman,"—from Col. Napier Sturt's representation that the contour of the country resembled that memorable spot,—and crossed the turnpike road at Hazelmere, which leads from Hatfield through Watford, Chesham, Amersham, Wycombe, and Marlow to Reading, known as the Hatfield and Reading Trust, upon which turnpikes existed up to 1882; and which road was constructed by the old Marquis of Salisbury, grandfather of the present Marquis, and promoter of the great turnpike roads in his day, and his protegé, Macadam, who, through Lord Salisbury's patronage, became famous, and his son attained to the dignity of knight, as a means of enabling Lord Salisbury, who was in the habit of taking the Bath waters, to reach that place from Hatfield with greater facility; but which turned out to be one of the greatest public benefits, as connecting together the small market towns of Herts, Bucks, and Berks by a good road, in the place of narrow lanes over very hilly country. Then down a steep dip to Deadman Dane Bottom, so called, it is supposed, from a great battle having been fought by the Danes at this spot, many human bones, rough tombs, battle axes, spears, and implements of warfare, having been discovered and dug up from time to time, even in recent years—turning up the hill to the left, through the hamlet of Wid-

* See further particulars, page 278.

† See account of this Church, page 277.

mer End, in Hughenden parish, the party arrived at the top of Criers Hill, from which the woods of Hughenden, and what is known as "The German Forest," are visible; and descending the steep pitch of Criers Hill, came into the road leading from Wycombe to Hampden and Aylesbury, which passes the lodge below the church, by which the party entered the domain and drove direct to the church.

The route between Hughenden and Rayners is one that Lord Beaconsfield frequently adopted by choice, preferring, as he described it, "*the perils of Criers Hill*," to having to "*run the gauntlet of the town of Wycombe.*" But the whole of the route taken from Sir Philip Rose's lower lodge at Loudwater, to Hughenden, is identically the same, step by step as that followed by Lord Beaconsfield on the 10th Dec. 1880, when returning from his last visit to the Queen at Windsor Castle, he lunched at Rayners, and went home by Criers Hill in excellent health and spirits; and which Her Majesty, by express command, followed, on her private visit to the vault in Hughenden churchyard, on the 30th April, 1881, to lay a wreath on the tomb of her lost friend.

The party, after visiting the Church, arrived at Hughenden Manor, where they were most hospitably received and entertained by Sir Samuel and Lady Wilson, and where the following proceedings took place:

The Annual Meeting.

Sir Samuel Wilson asked permission to propose a toast. It was one, he said, which was never omitted where loyal Englishmen met together, whether in Buckinghamshire or in Australia, and he had always found that wherever it was proposed it was received with the enthusiasm which it deserved. The toast was that of her most gracious Majesty, the Queen (applause).

The toast having been duly honoured, the annual meeting of the Society was proceeded with, the Archdeacon of Buckingham being voted to the chair, called on the Rev. C. Lowndes, treasurer, to read his report, which showed a balance in hand of £1 1s. 4d.

The Rev. C. Lowndes, the Rev. B. Burgess, and the Rev. J. Wood were proposed as hon. secs. for the ensuing year, the Rev. C. Lowndes as treasurer, and Messrs. J. E. Bartlett and T. Horwood as auditors. Mr. Lowndes asked to be excused from further official duty on account of his failing sight; but the meeting insisted on re-electing him, and all the appointments were made as proposed.

The following were elected members of the Society:—Sir Samuel Wilson, Hughenden; Mr. A. Taylor, Haddenham; the Rev. W. Cotton Risley, Shalstone, Buckingham; the Rev. G. Parker, Quainton; the Rev. W. M. Myers, Swanbourne; the Rev. W. H. F. Kelly, Lacey Green; the Rev. F. Brealy, Little Linford; Mr. J. Toovey, Burnham Abbey; Mr. J. Adams, Aylesbury; the Rev. W. H. Pochin, Worminghall; the Rev. J. G. Chester, Chicheley; Mr. J. Young, Aylesbury; the Rev. Sir J. C. Hawkins, Manor House, Ellesborough; the Rev. E. Ilbert Crosse, Waddesdon; Mr. G. H. C. Hussey, junr., Plomer Hill House, Wycombe; the Rev. R. Chilton, Wycombe; the Rev. G. M. Lester, Stony Stratford; Mr. James Gurney, Aylesbury; Mr. J. Petit, Aylesbury; Mr. J. Turner, Aylesbury.

Mr. Lowndes, on the recommendation of the Committee, proposed the election of Sir Philip Rose and Sir Samuel Wilson as vice-presidents.

The Rev. Canon Evetts then proposed "The health of the Archdeacon of Buckingham," and congratulated him upon the manner in which the business of the meeting had been conducted.

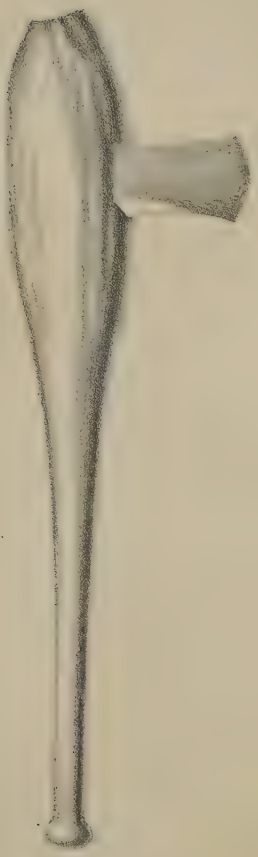
The Archdeacon replied, and proposed "The health of Sir Samuel Wilson," thanking him for his great kindness in inviting the members of the Society to Hughenden, and for the kind way in which he had received them.

Sir SAMUEL WILSON said he hoped that all the work he would have to perform in his new character of vice-president, would prove as easy and as pleasant as that of that day. He had met kind friends on every hand since he had been in Buckinghamshire, and he felt it a very great honour, to be selected as the Conservative candidate for their County, after the great man who had occupied that place with such distinction and so much honour to the country. This Society was not a political one, and he trusted he had said nothing to hurt the feelings of any Liberal present, but hoped England would long remain great, prosperous, and respected.

The ARCHDEACON proposed "The health of Rev. C. Lowndes," who had been Secretary for twenty-four years.

Mr. LOWNDES having replied, the proceedings were brought to a conclusion.

Returning to Wycombe, the Rev. R. CHILTON conducted the party round the Church, and this completed one of the most successful and agreeable excursions the Society has ever held.



A NEOLITHIC AXE.

Tunbridge Days & Son, imp.

PREHISTORIC MAN.

WITH SOME ALLUSIONS TO HIS RELATIONSHIP TO BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BY JOHN PARKER, F.S.A.

The history of man justly engages pre-eminently the attention of the thoughtful of this latter part of the century. It is but natural that it should be so, since geologists have made unlooked-for strides in unfolding to us the secrets, which have been buried within the earth's crusts; and, whilst telling us how, from age to age, life has appeared from the earliest organic remains, tracing it onwards, they have led us with them to look with eager anxiety for the first appearance of our race; and in the research, they have shown us, what we have been taught to believe, that man was the last and crowning act of creation. Archæology is so dependent on geology, that it is difficult to show where the one science begins, and the other ends; the latter clearly overlaps the former.

The object of this paper is to suggest to the members of the Bucks Archæological Society, through its Records, the importance of tracing the haunts of early man, where they may be found within our reach, whether they may be traced on the ancient banks of a river, or marked out on the hill tops; and of pursuing such discoveries with patient and persevering care. This, I say, is the object of this paper, rather than to unfold discoveries already made by the writer himself. A too hasty opening of cairns and earthworks by the inexperienced, has often occasioned a loss in the pursuit of historical inquiry, which can never be recovered. Just as our more prominent prehistoric monuments are considered national, and should be treated with the care befitting the national intelligence, so the remains of early man of lesser importance in each county should be claimed, as a legacy to that county, to be preserved and respected. It may

be of interest to consider the present position of the question of the earliest traces of man, as yet discovered, and when he first appeared on our globe.

Neither in the Eocene, Miocene, or Pleiocene formations of the tertiary period, do we find any authentic evidences of the existence of man on the earth; it is not till we reach the mid-Pleistocene formation, that we first discover indications of his appearance. The climate of England in the Eocene age was tropical, it was warm in the Miocene, and temperate in the Pleiocene age, and then it passed into arctic severity in the Pleistocene period. In the late Pleistocene age, we find that the arctic mammals were in possession of this country; they were scattered over a large area in Britain, and it is necessary to conclude from their presence, that our country formed part of the mainland of Europe at that time.* This suggests to us that the Pleistocene, though comparatively recent, is a period of extreme antiquity. We cannot, with any probability, give the distance of time from us, when Britain was severed from the continent. Geikie, in his "Text Book of Geology," says, "In the stratified rocks of the terrestrial crust, we have abundant proof that the whole fauna and flora of the earth's surface have passed through numerous cycles of revolution—species, genera, families, orders, appearing and disappearing many times in succession. On any supposition, it must be admitted, that these vicissitudes in the organic world can only have been effected with the lapse of vast periods of time, though no reliable standard seems to be available, whereby these periods are to be measured. The argument, from geological evidence, is strongly in favour of an interval of probably not much less than one hundred million years, since the earliest forms of life appeared upon the earth, and the oldest stratified rocks began to be laid down." †

Passing then from the consideration of the antiquity of the earth's crust, let us for a moment consider the ages which have necessarily elapsed, to account for the changes which have actually taken place on the surface of our globe; and this will enable us to realize, in

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* See Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 148.

† Archibald Geikie's "Text Book of Geology," p. 55.

some degree, the early date to which we must assign the first appearance of man on the earth.

Playfair informs us, that "the time requisite for taking away by waste and erosion two feet from the surface of all our continents, and depositing it at the bottom of the sea, cannot be reckoned less than two hundred years."

To give some idea of the slow process by which changes take place, we are informed, that at the present rate of erosion, the Mississippi removes one foot of rock from the general surface of its basin in 6000 years; the Rhone, in 1528 years; the Danube, in 6846 years; the Po, in 729 years. And it is computed that at the Mississippi's rate of denudation, the North American continent would be worn away in about four and a half million years. But the elevation or depression of the land from subterraneous causes must be taken into consideration in estimating the length of time which may have elapsed since changes have occurred.

"On a great scale the floor of the North Sea and that of the Atlantic Ocean, for a distance of 300 miles to the west of Ireland, may be regarded as a marine platform that once formed part of the European continent, and has been reduced by denudation and subsidence to its present position." *

From the foregoing remarks we are assisted in comprehending the geographical position of Britain in the late Pleistocene age, when, we may venture to assume, the human race were living with the mammalia of a still earlier period. Man lived in Britain with extinct animals of the early and mid-Pleistocene periods, such as the cave bear, the small-nosed rhinoceros and woolly rhinoceros, the Irish elk, the mammoth and straight tusked elephant; and with survivals from those periods, such as the grisly bear, otter, fox, wolf, spotted hyæna, lion, horse, bison, and hippopotamus; and with new forms, such as the leopard, badger, Arctic lemming, reindeer, Arctic fox, and glutton. In the latest part of the Pleistocene period, the Arctic mammalia roamed over Britain, the possessors of the soil. The evidence of the connection of Britain in the late part of the Pleistocene age with the mainland

* A. Geikie's "Text Book of Geology," p. 450.

of Europe, is considered to be proved by the remains of animals of that period being found in a large area of Britain, and in various places now covered by the sea.* Boyd Dawkins concludes, that "Britain stood at least 600 feet above its present level, and that the rivers of our eastern coast, the Thames, Medway, Humber, Tyne, and others, joined the Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe, to form a river flowing through the valley of the German Ocean. In like manner, the rivers of the south of England, and of the north of France, formed a great river flowing past the Channel Islands due west into the Atlantic, and the Severn united with the rivers of the south of Ireland. . . . . The watershed between the valleys of the British Channel and the North Sea is represented by a ridge passing due south from Folkestone to Dieppe, and that between the drainage area of the Severn and its tributaries on the one hand, and the Irish Channel on the other, by a ridge from Holyhead westward to Dublin. This tract of low undulating land which surrounded Britain and Ireland on every side, consisted not merely of rich hill, valley, and plain, but also of marsh land, studded with lakes, like the meres of Norfolk, now indicated by the deeper soundings. These lakes were very numerous to the south of the Isle of Wight, and off the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk." †

I have purposely dwelt at some length on the features of this country in the earliest stages of man's appearance in Britain; he might have lived before the glacial climate had set in, as there are traces of his remains amid the remains of mammalia existing prior to an arctic temperature. We trace him either in the river strata or in the ossiferous caverns; but he was but a poor specimen of humanity; without domestic animals, without the use of polished stones or metals, subsisting by the chase, or by fishing or fowling; his rude wants amply supplied, as they must have been, from the game of the forests, from the animals that roamed in herds across the land, and from the fish which abounded in the rivers, by whose banks he chose to dwell; his shelter nothing

* For instances see Boyd Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 149.

† Ibid. p. 151. See also Admiralty Charts, Stieler's Hand Atlas, Ramsay's OrographicalMap of England and Wales.

more than one of nature's caverns, which afforded a home, now to himself, and now to a cave bear, or a spotted hyæna. Such was the River-drift man in the Palæolithic age; he is found over a vast extent of country in Europe, India, and Africa; but as no interments are proved in the age we are considering, to discover his actual existence requires careful investigation.

As we have seen, the River-drift man had not learnt to till the ground; what he has left behind, therefore, were the tools or weapons which supplied his simplest wants. The Palæolithic age is supposed to have extended over a lengthened period, commencing perhaps as far back as the mid-Pleistocene time; the implements then, it may well be supposed, show a marked development as time advances. At first they were of the rudest type. A stone would be simply smashed, and one of its fragments chosen for its point or sharp edge, as a tool that would answer the purpose of its untutored possessor. In the late Pleistocene river beds, we are told, that the following implements have been discovered. 1. The flake chipped to an edge on one side; 2. The hâche, or oval-pointed implements intended for use without a handle; 3. An oval or rounded form, with a cutting edge all round, which may have been used in a handle; 4. A scraper for preparing skins; 5. Pointed flints used for boring.* "From the rude and heavy bludgeon the men had advanced to beautiful oval and ovate forms, almost perfect in geometrical precision. The progress from the large and rude to the extremely small and neat scraper, shows that the men had probably progressed in the art of dressing skins, and in every way did finer and neater things." †

The discovery of human remains in association with extinct animals, first led to the idea of the antiquity of man's existence on the earth. To gain some conception of the great break of time which separated the quaternary or Palæolithic from the prehistoric or Neolithic epoch, we have to consider what have been the differences of the mammalian fauna; it has been pointed out that, "Out of forty-eight well-ascertained species living

* Boyd Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 163.
† Article in "Nature," January 18th, 1883.

in the former, only thirty-one were able to live on into the latter; and out of those thirty-one, all, with the exception of six, are still living in our island. The cave bear, cave lion, and cave hyæna had vanished away, along with a whole group of pachyderms; and of all the extinct animals, but one, the Irish elk, still survived. The reindeer, so enormously abundant during the post-glacial epoch, lived on greatly reduced in numbers; while the red deer, which was rare, became very numerous, and usurped those feeding grounds which formerly supported vast herds of the reindeer. With this exception, all the Arctic group of mammalia, such as the musk sheep, and the marmots, had retreated northwards; a fact which shows that the climate of Britain, during prehistoric times, was warmer, or rather less severe than during the former epoch."* The goat, sheep, long-faced ox, and dog do not appear in Britain till the Neolithic period. Now, as before observed, Palæolithic implements are found in gravel deposits and in caves. Mr. Sketchley, in a lecture in November, 1883, at the London Institution, on "The Scientific Study of Man," pointed out, that all over that part of Western Europe which the ice did not touch, Palæolithic tools are found in surface beds, whereas beyond that area they are only found in caves; and his explanation was that in the great glacial period, the ice swept away the relics from the surface. But although it has been generally understood that the flint implement-bearing gravels are later than those of the glacial period, Mr. Sketchley appears, from the extracts I have been able to obtain of his lecture, to have himself discovered "a series of implement-bearing beds below a very ancient glacial deposit," and refers to this as evidence of man's occupation of this area in very early times. The gravels containing terrestrial and fresh water remains are those in which we may expect to find flint implements; they have been chiefly found in the gravels of chalk districts; these gravel deposits, it would appear, had been the result of the excavations of rivers, in the formation after lengthened periods of their valleys, through the influence, to a far greater degree than we can at present conceive, of rain, snow, ice, and frost.

* Trans.: Prehist. Cong., 1868, p. 278.

In England, at all events, there have not been found any remains of animals so small as man in the gravel deposits, but the specimens of implements left in these deposits, indicate in a remarkable degree, wherever found, whether in England or France, a correspondence in their formation. They differ from the implements of the Surface or Neolithic period: unlike specimens of the latter, they are never sharpened by grinding or polishing, they were used simply for cutting, boring, or scraping; often, it has been suggested, for cutting through the ice for fishing purposes. The River-drift man is thus made known to us by the imperishable objects he has left to us, and these are the earliest relics of the human race at present discovered. Specimens of these Palæolithic implements have been found in the course of the river Ouse, and in the valley of the Lusk, which empties itself into the Ouse. In the valley of the little Ouse, and in the valley of the Waveney, and not only in Eastern, but in a great part of Northern England, similar traces of man have been discovered in the river deposits.

The lower Thames Valley, however, has been the spot of all others in this country, where the River-drift man settled; his traces are discovered with the big-nosed rhinoceros, an animal existing prior to the advent of the arctic mammalia. As far back as 1690, a roughly-chipped pointed implement was dug up in association with the remains of an elephant in the gravel at Gray's Inn Lane. Boyd Dawkins mentions a discovery witnessed by himself in 1872, of a flint flake in the lower brick earths at Crayford. Also in 1876 he mentions a second implement was found in the same series of beds at Erith *in situ*; this is a roughly-chipped flake considerably worn by use. Similar implements are traced in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, among the river gravels, especially at Bemerton and Fisherton. To give some idea of his resources as a hunter, the River-drift man's traces are associated in Wiltshire with the bones of many species of mammalia. "In the spring, summer, and autumn there were stags, bisons, uri, horses, pouched marmots, woolly rhinoceroses, and mammoths, and in the depth of winter, lemmings, reindeer, and musk sheep. Wild boars were in the woodlands, and hares in the glades. The hunter had, however, formidable beasts of prey, the

lion and the spotted hyæna, as his competitors in the chase." *

Pre-eminently, the authority on this subject, giving the forms, successions, and distribution of the implements in Britain, is Dr. John Evans, in his work on "Ancient Stone Implements," to which I shall have frequently to refer hereafter.

In France similar traces of the same human race, and under the same conditions, were discovered in the river deposits of the Somme at Amiens and Abbeville, in the second quarter of this century, and since then similar discoveries have been made in Southern France.

Referring to the evidences of early man in France, we should bear in mind that Frenchmen have laboured most diligently in this field of research. The first name that occurs to us is that of M. Boucher de Perthes, in connection with the flints discovered at Abbeville, and the Musée de St. German, it is considered, exhibits the implements of the first Stone age in the most approved method of arrangement. M. Joly, who has recently published "Man before Metals," in the "International Scientific Series," as far back as 1835, contributed a paper, which appeared in the "Bibliothèque Universelle" of Geneva, in which he suggested that man probably existed in Western Europe with some of the extinct mammalia of the Pleistocene period, deriving his evidence from the exploration of a bone cave at Lozère; his conjectures were at the time discountenanced, but he has lived to see them confirmed, and to give to the world the benefit of his later researches.

In the rapid survey of this most important subject, I can only call the reader's attention to the merest outline of a question which must engage increasing attention, and still more earnest research: but I cannot but pause to remark on the striking evidence of the gradual improvement of man's condition, attested by the tools and weapons he has left behind him; these furnish the bare record of pre-historic man. When we speak of the Stone age, the Bronze age, and the Iron age, we refer to long periods of time—how long it is impossible to say; but we speak of distinct epochs, through which, though

* Boyd Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain," p. 162.

much must still be left to conjecture, we shall surely trace the gradual civilization and culture of the human race.

We can, it is true, find the stone implements used in the Bronze or Iron age, but we know that flint weapons were the earliest used by man. The roughly-chipped flake used for cutting, and found in the river deposits, was an instrument handed down to historic times. The Egyptians used it, and it is found in sepulchral remains of the Britons in Sussex and Kent.

We can scarcely mention the name of Egypt without recalling the early culture of man, history in its, to us, most distant development. We think of Egypt and its civilization with something of awe; the mystery of the silent tombs of the Pharaohs is as a dream, and not the reality of a far-distant past; but in speaking of the Palæolithic tribes, the Egyptian is as the creation of to-day, for we are carried to periods in man's history, the distance of which we cannot possibly measure. The man who is distinguished in Britain as the River-drift man, belongs, it is believed, to an entirely extinct race. The authorities on this question of anthropology seem to be uncertain, whether man of the mid and the later Pleistocene age was of a kindred descent; he is indiscriminately known at present as of the Palæolithic age. His remains are found in Central Asia, through Europe, and in parts of Africa.

We now follow up our subject by considering the next race of men who appear in the order of succession. These were the Cave men; they were still of the Palæolithic period, but were a race superior to the River-drift men. Like the latter, we cannot claim them as in any way associated with the men who left their marks on the uplands of our southern counties; but it will be interesting to bring down the succession of races, till we come to times, when we can with some confidence say, that the men of a certain age lived and died on our familiar hills, whose fortresses and burial mounds are with us to this day.

The caverns of Derbyshire, of Wales, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Nottinghamshire were the abodes of the River-drift men, and at a later period, and often in an upper strata, of the Cave men. "Fortunately for us,"

says Mr. Boyd Dawkins, "the Cave men employed the intervals of leisure from the chase in engraving upon bone, antlers, and, more rarely, on ivory and stone, the hunting scenes, which most vividly impressed themselves upon their memory." The sculpture and engraving of these Cave men, considering the rude tools they must have employed, give us a very high estimate of their artistic power, far in advance of that displayed by many races which have succeeded them. So far as their traces have been found, the range of the Cave men seems to have been limited, extending from the Alps and Pyrenees as far north as Derbyshire and Belgium, and not yet found farther east than Poland and Styria. It is conjectured, from a similarity in the habits and attainments of the Eskimo of the present day with those of the Cave men, that the former can be identified with the latter, who may, it seems, be classified with the reindeer, the musk sheep, aud the animals of a northern latitude.

It will be interesting to refer to some of the caverns which have brought to light the existence of these Cave men. But a word upon the formation and characteristics of the caverns themselves will not be inappropriate. Mineral springs occasion considerable loss of substance to subterranean rocks, as they continuously bring matter to the surface; by this means subterranean tunnels, channels, and caverns have been formed.

"In regions abounding in rock salt deposits," says Dr. Geikie, "the result of the solution and removal of these by underground water is visible in local sinkings of the ground and the consequent formation of pools and lakes. The landslips and meres of Cheshire are illustrations of this process. In calcareous districts, however, more striking effects are observable. The ground may there be found drilled with vertical cavities (*swallow-holes, sinks, dolinas*), by the solution of the rock along lines of joints that serve as channels for descending rain-water. Surface drainage thus intercepted, passes at once underground, where in course of time an elaborate system of spacious tunnels and channels may be dissolved out of the solid rock. Such has been the origin of the Peak Caverns of Derbyshire, the intricate grottoes of Antiparos and Adlesberg, and the vast labyrinths of the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky. . . . By the falling in of the

roofs of caverns a communication is established with the surface, and land shells and land animals fall into the holes, or the caverns are used as dens by beasts of prey, so that the remains of terrestrial animals are preserved under the stalagmite."*

The explanation here given brings before us in a clear light the formation of the ossiferous caverns. These caverns afford the most important evidence, indeed almost the only evidence, of the prehistoric mammalia. Many of them were used as dens of various carnivora, such as the hyæna, the cave lion, the cave bear. Here these animals often left the bones of their prey. Some beasts would resort to shelters of the kind to die, or bones might accumulate in cavernous holes, swept into them by sudden inundations. Dr. Geikie remarks, that as these recesses lie for the most part in limestone or calcareous rock, their floors are commonly coated with stalagmite from the drip of the roof, and as this deposit is of great closeness and durability, it has effectually preserved whatever it has covered or enveloped. The fall of débris has often closed the openings to these cavities, and when once again light is thrown into their interiors, we can but conjecture how the bones had for ages been deposited there. Not only have beasts of prey and their victims been discovered, but in some of these caves, man also found a shelter and a home. Thus we see, that these subterranean caves enable us to gather knowledge of prehistoric life, the value of which we can scarcely estimate; yet we must bear in mind that they can but give us a mere partial conception of the animals which at similar periods existed and roamed at large over hill and plain.

Let us now give our attention to some of these bone caves; the Robin Hood Cave in Derbyshire, which reveals the presence of man, will probably give a good example of the value of ossiferous caverns. It shows "a regular sequence of events." First, in a deposit of red sandstone, there were the bones of lion, grisly bear, wolf, common fox, bison, wild boar, brown bear, reindeer, Irish elk, rhinoceros, and mammoth; these

* Geikie's "Text Book of Geology," pp. 355—605.

from the marks of teeth on their remains had fallen a prey to the spotted hyæna, now only found in Central and Southern Africa; it must be imagined that the hyæna hunted in packs and overwhelmed their victims, some of which were, of course, a match for the hyæna in single combat. The first stratum then was a den of hyænas in which human remains are not found.* The cave known as the "Pin Hole" at Creswell Crags in Derbyshire, first led to the conclusions arrived at with reference to the Robin Hood Cave; in the former were the glutton and Arctic fox, but not the lion, the wild boar, and the brown bear; the remains of the animals were scored and marked with teeth, showing that they had been a prey of some carnivore, and this creature proved to be the spotted hyæna; the presence of the Arctic fox and reindeer proves the severity of the climate at the period the cave was inhabited. I now proceed with the account of the Robin Hood Cave. Above the first stratum was one of red earth containing the same species of remains, and also a large number of rude implements of "flint and quartzite, triangular flakes, which had been used for cutting, oval implements with a cutting surface all round, and scrapers, which from their likeness to those in use among the Eskimos and North American Indians, were intended for the preparation of hides." Similar implements were found in the caves of Moustier, in Auvergne, and the lowest strata in the well-known cave of Kent's Hole in Devonshire, and they have been found in the Alps and Pyrenees, in Palestine and India. The remains in this stratum prove that the cave was then inhabited by rude hunters, probably the River-drift men, and when they left it, the hyænas returned to their old haunts. The third stage in the history of the cave reveals, amid the bones of rhinoceros, hyæna, and reindeer, implements made of flint brought from a distance, more highly finished and of superior workmanship to the implements in the second stratum. This cave was discovered in the autumn of 1875; in the "Early Man in Britain," there is a more elaborate description of the Robin Hood Cave, which concludes thus:—

* I have abbreviated the description of this Robin Hood Cave from the "Journal of Anthropological Institute," vol. vi. p. 95.

"The most important discovery, however, made at this horizon is that of a small fragment of rib, with its polished surface ornamented with the incised figure of a horse; the head with its eyes, mouth, and nostrils is admirably drawn, and a series of fine oblique lines stopping at the bend of the back, proves that the animal was hog-maned. It is the first instance of the discovery of the figure of an animal in this country." The implements and sculptured rib are the work of the Cave men, of whom I shall have more to say. The disclosure of more recent time was "a modern accumulation of surface soil containing fragments of Roman and mediæval pottery." So that after a lapse of ages, when the animals before mentioned became either extinct or retreated to hotter or colder climates, this remarkable cave became inhabited in historic times. It will be seen from the description given, of what vast importance the unfolding with patient care the contents of such a repository as the Robin Hood Cave has proved.

There is a group of caverns at Creswell Crags; besides the Pin Hole and Robin Hood, there are the "Mother Grundy's Parlour" and the Church Hole Cavern. In the latter cavern the same bone-producing strata are repeated as in the Robin Hood Cave, and in the same order. In Mother Grundy's Parlour there was discovered a yet lower stratum, in which were the remains of hyænas, bisons, three hippopotami, and the small-nosed rhinoceroses. Professor Boyd Dawkins and Mr. J. M. Mello explored these caverns and made the important discoveries which I have briefly mentioned. In the cave at Pont Newydd in North Wales, near St. Asaph, human remains have been found with the remains of the hippopotamus in a strata corresponding with the lowest strata in the Mother Grundy's Parlour Cavern, and this appears to be the earliest evidence of man's occupation of caverns in Europe. I have entered fully into a description of the Robin Hood Cave to explain the nature of these ossiferous caverns, and how they bear on the subject of prehistoric man, and the animals with whom he was associated; I therefore do not propose to describe any other British caverns. In the caves of France the same strata are revealed as in the Creswell Caverns, the lower show the implements of a ruder type of man, the upper the remains of man in a higher stage of

civilization. The most advanced implements of the Palæolithic age are found in the cave of La Madelaine; in this cave are found the beautiful bone and stone carvings, some of them real works of art, others of great palæological interest; there are drawings of the reindeer, of the mammoth, and of prehistoric man himself. In this cavern a drawing has been found of man hunting bisons and horses; he appears to have surprised the herd of horses, and the two heads of the bison are drawn with much artistic effect. Before we leave the Cave men, let us consider their habits and their progress in civilization, so far we can gather information from the scanty resources afforded to us.

Although the Cave men may have had no habitations on the uplands of Buckinghamshire, they were, as we shall see, associated with the county. We have already seen that traces of the River-drift men have been discovered among the river deposits on the banks of the Thames, and it is probable that the Cave men also encamped near to the river, and therefore in the most picturesque parts of Bucks; such were their habits, for besides discovering their remains amid caves and rock shelters, traces of them have been found at Solutré, in the valley of Saone in France. Like their predecessors, the Cave men were essentially sportsmen; they lived upon their success in the chase, or on fowling or fishing. No evidence has been discovered of their being acquainted with the art of pottery; the vessels which they used to contain liquids must therefore have been skins or horn, of which they must have had an abundant supply. They appear to have had no domestic animals, nor do they seem to have practised the art of agriculture in the simplest form. Yet they must have been greatly in advance of the River-drift men; their weapons for the chase were far superior, they had a remarkable talent for engraving and sculpture, the handles of their weapons were often beautifully designed and exquisitely carved, and the incisions on pieces of antler discovered reveal a remarkable artistic power and singular perception of beauty, altogether superior to anything of the kind produced by the succeeding races, notwithstanding the disadvantages arising from the inferior tools they must have possessed.

There are reasons for supposing that the Eskimo of the present day is the representative of the Cave men, from many similarities in habits and culture; but it is not my purpose to discuss this question.

The value of the skill of the Cave men can be judged from the representations they depicted of the extinct animals then existing; the well-known engraving on ivory of the mammoth found in the cave of La Madelaine before referred to illustrates the importance of these specimens of early art.

Whilst the River-drift men's traces may be found from their wanderings over India, Asia Minor, North Africa, and Western and Southern Europe, the Cave men are traced over a large part of Europe; but for the cradle of man's existence we naturally point to Central Asia.

We now leave the Palæolithic for the Neolithic age, still passing through the prehistoric period, the beginning of history being as yet in the remote distance.

The last of the geological periods is thus subdivided by Dr. A. Geikie:—

"Historic up to the present time—

Prehistoric { Iron, Bronze, and later Stone.
Neolithic.
Palæolithic."

It is difficult to conceive of the distance of time which must have elapsed from the Pleistocene age to the commencement of what is termed the prehistoric period; during the former age, we have seen, great changes took place in the geography of Britain, and so did they in the zoology. The slow progress of change which has occurred within the memory of man in our river valleys, and an examination of the prehistoric deposits, compared with the Pleistocene strata, will give some notion of the duration of the Pleistocene age.

We have, however, arrived at a period when we can tread on surer ground. We come to a time when the remains of man are impressed on the hills of England, are found in caverns, in the peat bogs of Ireland, and in the lake dwellings of Switzerland. Little of the life of the earlier ages remained, for the Irish elk, alone of all extinct animals, still survived. The human race was

advancing in civilization. We shall find that the flint weapons were polished, there was an acquaintance with agriculture, the potter's art was known, spinning and weaving were practised. Neolithic man was a miner, and he left proofs of the honour he paid to the dead by the tombs still found amongst us; and, as there are no interments attributable to the Palæolithic age proved, this practice of interment is an important sign of an advance in culture. In the words of a recent University sermon by the Rev. C. W. Stubbs, "After all, the grand sweep of things is from the lower to the higher . . . those laws which in the beginning produced the original diffusion of the race, compelled man to abandon predatory habits and take to agriculture, led to the clearing of the earth's surface, forced man into the social state."

For the most part, we must look to the downs and uplands of chalk or oölitic formation for the first attempts at tillage in this country. The dense forests of Britain were then uncleared, and vast morasses spread for miles across the land. Man had, too, to reckon with wild animals that disputed with him the lordship of the valleys; the brown bear, the grisly bear, the wild boar, and the wolf were denizens of the forests and woodlands. The open country afforded him safety at least, and made him contented for a time to wait for the richer soil of the plains. On the high ground of this island, therefore, time was when there were "seats of population and a tillage," both of which have long past away, but the hills disclose the former habitations of a race once existing, and the memorials of its dead, which the plough has not since disturbed, and which are still to be traced. It has been well remarked that these vestiges of the past furnish us, even in historic times, with "evidence more trustworthy than that of the written chronicle." *

But I would first refer to the remains of Neolithic man found in the caverns of Britain. I do so, because Professor McKenna Hughes advised me, when in North Wales in the autumn of 1880, to see a remarkable cave under the Great Orme's Head at Llandudno, and I confine

* See Green's "Making of England," pp. 7, 8.

myself to a reference to that cave. The human remains discovered there, at the time I visited it, were portions of four skeletons, three adult and one child; the men were of small stature, averaging about 5 feet 4 inches. The associated animals were the badger, brown bear, short-horned ox, sheep or goat, boar and horse.

There were ornaments found, namely, two pendants, or ear-drops, made of the right and left upper canines of the brown bear; the lower jaw of a horse was found marked with an incised zigzag or chevron pattern. The upper canines of the bear were also found, having the extreme tip of the fang perforated for suspension; a number of them were discovered, and were evidently strung together and used as a necklace.

Before my visit, Professor Boyd Dawkins saw the cave, and made some valuable notes upon it. His conclusion was, that this was a place of interment, and, in his words, "belonging to the small long-headed Iberic aborigines, who possessed Europe, west of the Rhine and north of the Mediterranean, in the Neolithic age."

To find any traces, however, of this age in Buckinghamshire, we must more especially devote our attention to the chalk hills. The earthworks of this county are not to be compared, for instance, to those of Dorsetshire, to such magnificent entrenchments as Maiden Castle, near Dorchester, and to the many other earthworks so elaborately illustrated in Warne's "Ancient Dorset." Still the Chilterns afford remarkable traces of man, which deserve more careful investigation. Dr. T. W. Smith, in his Introduction to "Ancient Dorset," * evidently attributes to the Neolithic period the long and chambered barrows of the counties of Wilts, Gloucester, York, and Derby; in these no objects of metal are found and inhumation of the body was practised; and he lays it down as an axiom that long barrows are to be classed with long skulls, round barrows with round skulls. If he is to be relied on, then here we have the work of man before us in the first stage of the prehistoric period. It is on the hill-tops that we shall more especially find evidences of the settlement of this early race in Britain.

* See "Notes on Ancient Dorset," by Charles Warne, F.S.A., with an Introduction by Dr. T. W. Smith.

Inhumation, as I have mentioned, was first practised; cremation was the practice of a later age. With the body, in these earliest tombs generally found buried in a crouching position, were the weapons and implements which were used in life, the arrow-head and the celts, and also pottery, possibly the drinking-cup and the accompaniments of the meal, showing evidences of the belief in a future state, so prevalent among all races, whether civilized or barbarous.

I have referred to the abode of the dead; let me say a word as to the habitation of the living. Sir R. C. Hoar says, "The earliest habitations were pits or excavations in the ground." "A perfect specimen," (I quote from Warne's "Dorset,") "of a pit dwelling would present the form of an inverted cone from eight to ten feet in depth; the covering would probably be branches of trees, sods of earth, or turf-roofed by means of poles." These pits or hut circles were often clustered together within an earthwork or camp on the tops or at the sides of the hills, and it is very probable that many of the circular depressions on the Chilterns may have originally been pit-dwellings; as, however, excavations are so frequently made for the chalk itself, it requires care in attributing too hastily a depression of this kind to such an origin.

These pits have a circular shaft for an entrance: "at the bottom they vary from five to seven feet in diameter, and gradually narrow to two and a half or three feet in diameter in the upper parts."

Just as the cavern has unfolded the habits of the River-drift and Cave men, so these pit dwellings have disclosed the habits of the Neolithic age. In them have been found the instruments for spinning and weaving, specimens of pottery, and instruments for grinding corn, showing an acquaintance with agriculture. Animals, too, have been found in these dwellings, and amongst these I may mention the dog, horse, and pig.

We now arrive at a very interesting and important question in connection with Neolithic man, namely, whether any of our earthworks and camps can be assigned to the period under consideration. The arrow-heads and spear-heads, so frequently found, are evidences of the warlike propensities of the Neolithic races,

and it is laid down as a certainty that these races formed many of the camps on commanding positions above the rich valleys, as fortifications in times of tribal wars.

An attempt has been made to classify the various camps that are still met with; the prehistoric, the Celtic, the Roman, and the Saxon, and to distinguish the camp of any particular period by its shape, size, and means of defence. Much has been written on this subject, and it would indeed be most fortunate for the antiquarian and the historian, if each could speak with certainty as to the age when a particular camp was formed; how much light might thus be thrown on local events in the past, it is impossible to say.

Wishing, as far as opportunity allowed, to explore the Chilterns in Bucks, with the view of classifying the fortifications so often met with, but to determine the age of the camps by external appearances only, the writer was about to commence his task, when he thought it might assist him, if he had the advantage of the practical acquaintance of others with the subject. He accordingly wrote to General Pitt Rivers, who may well be considered the highest authority, and who most obligingly gave his extremely valuable experiences. He said that he "began his first paper on the Hill posts of Sussex, published in the 'Archæologia,' with a general description of camps, based upon a superficial inspection of them, and he fully intended to have continued it in a series, and to that end he examined the greater part of the camps in the south of England, and many of them in the northern part of France; but luckily," he remarks, "he had in the meantime occasion to dig out the ditches of one or two, the result of which was, that he entirely abandoned his first intention, and determined to proceed more cautiously. The fact is," he writes, "the principles of defence in early times are so simple and uniform, and the varieties so greatly dependent on the configuration of the ground, that it is impossible to say without reference to associated relics to what age a camp belongs. Many persons," he proceeds, "have attempted to classify these camps, but their classifications are based on insufficient data, for they tell a Norman stronghold in France by its moat, or a Roman from a British camp, but as to distinguishing a late Celtic from a Bronze period camp,

or these, again, from varieties in different districts of the same period, there is not at present data enough to go upon." The learned antiquary concludes by saying, "I feel certain that no one could do better work for prehistoric archæology in his own district, than to take a camp and cut sections through it. I have cut sixteen of these in various parts of the country, and the result has been, to diminish greatly the confidence that I commenced with, in pronouncing upon the age of an earthwork by its external appearance."

I have quoted at length from this important communication, because it appears of the utmost consequence that the different camps on the Chilterns should be examined, each with care and attention. To do this, excavations cannot be made without the consent of the Lord of the Manor, or other owner of the soil; and it would seem to be the peculiar province of a local Archæological Society to undertake so interesting a work, rather than to leave it as a task for some private explorer, who may not have the influence at his command to enable him with thoroughness to prosecute his researches.

"The varieties of camps greatly depend on the configuration of the ground," this may be termed the axiom from which to draw conclusions; except a strictly Roman camp, therefore, we cannot from mere external appearance attribute to any particular period or race the earthwork fortifications which crown so many of our hills. The Roman camps, we know, were generally rectangular, although Vegetius de re Militari, lib. i., cap. xxiii., says, "Interdum autem quadrata, interdum trigona, interdum semi-rotunda, pro ut loci qualitas, aut necessitas postulaverit, castra facienda sunt." There is no doubt, however, when the legions of Rome invaded this country, on gaining some important strategic point, they utilized the Celtic camps, from which the retreating tribes were driven; this is proved by the Roman remains frequently found in the earthworks of earlier settlers.

The Rev. W. J. Burgess, in a valuable paper in the first volume of these Records, entitled "Antiquities of the Chiltern Hills," besides alluding to the different barrows to be found, points out some interesting camps; he mentions that at Tottenhoe, on the borders of this

county and Bedfordshire, there is a circular camp, whilst close at hand is a large square or rectangular fortification called Maiden-bower. This word, "Maiden," I may mention in passing, is supposed to be derived from the Celtic word *Mai*, and to have its origin in Sanscrit, and to signify an open expanse: thus we have that remarkable earthwork in Dorsetshire, to which I have before alluded, and known as *Maiden* Castle.

Mr. Burgess then refers to works of similar aspect on the hill near Aldbury, Herts, and to "a very strong circular embankment, with deep fosse and well-defined entrance," at Hawridge, near Chesham, and mentions a circular and a rectangular camp in a line between Chesham and Berkhempstead, and "a very extensive camp or fortified village of circular form at Cholesbury, near Tring." I have merely alluded to this very interesting paper, to show at a glance, what may be gained by a thorough investigation of our Chiltern earthworks, referring the reader to the paper itself, which will repay perusal. The neighbourhood too of High and West Wycombe would afford ample scope for antiquarian research. Who shall be able, for instance, to trace the earliest settlement on West Wycombe hill? There you have a circular fortress, enclosing the settlement or village on a most commanding position, in which the church now stands, though the village is removed into the valley below; the church, no doubt, was erected on a site dedicated from very early times to religious rites. To compare such a spot to "the high places of Baal" may appear fanciful, but there can be no question that primitive races selected the summits of hills specially as places of sanctity and worship. Passing along the Wycombe Valley from West Wycombe, you have on the hills on the right the fine circular earthwork known as "Desborough Castle;" on the left, you have another fortress known as "Castle Hill," commanding the old borough town of Chepping Wycombe; then on the right again you have well-defined circular earthworks on an elevation called "Keep Hill." Thus, in this very limited reference to the Chilterns, it will be seen how much might be taught us by unearthing the remains of bygone generations on the hills of our county.

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The Cissbury camp then discloses to us in its collection of implements "every link of connection between the earlier and late types," through the labours of the discoverer, who has devoted so much attention to prehistoric archæology. Where the flints were found is discussed with much care; not, it appears, from the soil, but from the pits, which may be termed the mines from when the material came. The chipping process seems to have been completed on the spot, and the refuse was strewn on the surface; but if the weapons were polished, they must have been taken to some other factory, as no material requisite for the purpose was discovered at hand. There were signs that the pits might have been used for human habitations; this, however, must have been subsequently to their excavation for mining purposes. To obtain a complete history of this remarkable camp, so far as its present condition would allow, it appeared important to the learned discoverer to ascertain, whether the intrenchment was of the same date, or a subsequent excavation to the pits; he therefore caused a trench to be dug thirty-three long and four feet in width, in that part of the bottom of the ditch which was nearest the pits,* and on reaching the floor, lying on the chalk bottom, was discovered among twelve worked flints, "one of the best celts found at Cissbury." Finding these worked implements in the position mentioned, and within the limited distance excavated, the writer considered that there was strong presumptive evidence that, as these implements were the work of the original constructors, the intrenchment belonged to the age of the flint manufacture.

We have an example here of the importance of laying open our earthwork fortifications, if we are to know something of their origin. To encourage similar operations in our own county, has been partly the reason for so lengthy a reference to the Cissbury camp; but the most superficial survey of the Stone age in this country could scarcely fail to mark out a spot so singularly interesting and instructive. The fact of the non-existence of polished celts at Cissbury, may raise a doubt as to the camp being Neolithic; but the associated fauna, the remains of which

* Ibid., p. 74.

were discovered, and particularized by General Pitt Rivers in his paper, are the strongest evidence of the age of the camp itself.

A similar flint manufactory was explored by the Rev. W. Greenwell, at Grimes Graves near Brandon; it is thus described:—"In a wood, at this spot, the whole surface of the ground is studded with shallow bowl-shaped depressions from 20 to 60 feet in diameter; . . . they are over 250 in number, and one selected for exploration was about 28 feet in diameter at the mouth, gradually narrowing to 12 feet at the bottom, which proved to be 39 feet below the surface."*

How the mining operations were carried on, is also described; the excavations themselves were made by means of picks formed from the antlers of the red deer, of which about eighty were found.

A still larger manufactory than that at Cissbury or Grimes Graves, was at Spiennes near Mons in Belgium; an account of these subterranean works is referred to in Dr. Evans's work.†

I have referred to two of these manufactories in England and one on the Continent, and there have been others also discovered, showing "an organized manufactory of flint instruments by settled occupants of the different spots."‡

Space will not allow me to do more in the compass of this paper than to devote a few more observations on the Neolithic age. I purpose therefore to continue my remarks on the implements of this period. The subject is one of great interest, because I shall be able to show, that the construction of the implement itself, often discloses the age when the instrument was made, and how its antiquity compares with instruments made for similar purposes, but of different design.

It is quite impossible to fix a date, when the polished stone implement was first introduced into Britain, and to measure the distance between the time when the implements were chipped only, and found in the river gravels, and the introduction of those of more finished workman-

* Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 30.

† Rapport sur les découvertes "Géologiques et Archéologiques faites à Spiennes en 1867." Mons: 1868.

‡ Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 32.

ship. But though the antiquity of these later implements is clouded in obscurity, there are data to go upon, which may enlighten us as to when they fell into disuse. One of our highest authorities on this subject, Dr. John Evans, informs us, that it may be safely said, that "the use of bronze must have been known in this country 500 or 600 years B.C., and, therefore, that at that time cutting tools of stone began to be superseded, while by A.D. 1100 it will be agreed on all hands that they were no longer in use. We can therefore fix the date of their desuetude within, at the outside, 2000 years; but who can tell within any such limits the time when a people acquainted with the use of polished stone implements first settled in this island, or when the process of grinding them may have been first developed among native tribes?"*

Let us consider the use to which celts were applied; sometimes they were used as axes or hatchets, and sometimes as adzes; some were most probably used in the hand without any handle, or else were mounted in short handles, and used after the manner of chisels or knives.† But the secret of much that we may learn of the date of an implement will be in the design of its handle; it may be safely laid down, that with an axe in its earlier form, the object, whether stone or bronze, was fitted into the wooden handle, whilst, with the later implement, the handle fitted into the object. The axe was introduced in the Neolithic age, it was the instrument that of all others changed the feature of nature; by it man cleared the primeval forest, and opened out the land for tillage; by it he was enabled to shape wood and other materials for the various purposes of a higher culture. To the axe, therefore, we are indebted for a very marked advance in civilization and human progress; and though the stone axe must have been a very inferior implement to the bronze or iron axe, yet its invention was of the highest importance. The improvements in the hafting the axe is more the subject of the Bronze age, the period upon which I hope on some future occasion to contribute a paper to these RECORDS.

Few examples have been preserved of implements still attached to their handles; Dr. John Evans gives

* Ibid., p. 133. † Ibid., p. 137.

three;* one that was found in the Solway Moss near Longtown, now in the British Museum; and another of a celt found near Tranmere, Cheshire, now in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool; and a third found in peat, which once formed the bed of a tarn in Cumberland. The same authority also gives an illustration of a celt in its handle from a drawing in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy,† found in the county of Monaghan, and he mentions that some of the hatchets from the Swiss Lake dwellings were hafted in a similar manner.

A specimen of one of these axes, which was found at Concise in the Lake of Neuchâtel, is given: the stone was first bedded in a socket of stagshorn, for the purpose, it is supposed, of avoiding the splitting the handle, the end of which was "worked into a square form, but slightly tapering, and with a shoulder all round to prevent its being driven into the wood." As an example that with uncivilized tribes of modern times the object may still be seen fitted into the handle, Dr. Evans gives an illustration of a club procured from the Indians of the Rio Frio, a tributary of the Rio Nueces in Texas; he thus describes it: "The blade is of trachyte entirely unground, and most rudely chipped. The club-like haft is formed of some endogenous wood, and has evidently been chopped into shape by means of stone tools."

There can be no question that the earliest mode of hafting rendered the handles extremely liable to split, but in addition to the firm wedging of the object into the handle, it most often would have been secured by strong bands, sometimes composed of sinewy thongs, sometimes of withies twisted round, and doubtless, as with the axes of modern savages, artistically interlaced.

The handle of the polished celt, or axe used by prehistoric man, seems to have been of much the same fashion over the world, for in reference to the copper and bronze axes of the Mexicans, they are thus described: "They are like those of modern times, except that we put the handle in an eye of the axe, while they put the axe in an eye of the handle." ‡

* Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 157.
† Wilde's "Cat. Mus. R. I. A.," p. 46.
‡ Quoted in "Anc. Mon. of Miss. Valley," p. 198.

I have thus considered the construction of the axe, because, as I before remarked, it was an important implement in the Neolithic age, and its use had the effect of literally clearing the way for human progress; but for an exhaustive treatise on the subject of this implement, and indeed of all ancient stone implements, I must refer my reader to Dr. Evans's work on the subject, to which I am greatly indebted.

Besides the clearing the forests, the stone celt was used, as we have seen, for mining purposes; the flints necessary for forming implements were thus excavated from the chalk deposits. The celt, too, might have shaped the timber for the rude huts, and scooped the massive forest trunks into canoes for the inland waters; it would be useful for splitting the fire-wood, it could be brought into service for many domestic purposes, and in time of war it doubless was a weapon wielded with deadly effect in the conflicts between savage tribes.

Though the axe was one of the most familiar of implements in the Stone age, there were others which were in constant use. The scraper, for example was one of these implements; it was needed for dressing and scraping the hides, which furnished man's clothing, afforded the covering of his tent, and rendered life endurable in the long wintery season of these Northern Islands. But I cannot close my paper without some allusion to the *flint arrow-head*. Its universal use in the chase, or in time of war for ages in the remote past, makes this weapon an object of peculiar interest. A recent writer on Mexico, in treating of its early inhabitants, and in describing its archæological remains, speaks of the flint and stone arrow-heads discovered there, and in various parts of the United States, as of about the same character as those to be found all over the world.* In this country, on the Yorkshire Wolds, the Derbyshire Moors, and in parts of Suffolk, these flint arrow-heads have been found in abundance; a greater number, however, have been found in the northern parts of Ireland, than in any other portions of these Islands, since possibly these kinds of weapons were there in use, till a later period, than elsewhere.

* "Mexico, To-day," by T. U. Brocklehurst, p. 170.

It is a singular fact that while flint arrows are thus frequently discovered in this county, bronze arrow-heads are extremely rare. Many instances might be given of the finding of these flint implements in true association with weapons of bronze. The well-known antiquary, Sir R. Colt Hoare, gives several examples in point in his examination of the barrows of South Wilts; and Dr. John Evans, remarking that "while we know, from interments, that flint arrow-heads were in common use by those who employed bronze for other weapons or implements,"* draws the conclusion, that flint for arrow-heads was used long into the Bronze age.

Beyond this age, however, the use of flint for these purposes does not appear to reach, as there is no evidence of flint arrow-heads having been discovered in association with iron weapons. Of course, I should remark, there may be found the implements of the Stone age, in a barrow that may have been used for a second interment in the Iron age.

The barrow, like the cave, is a marvellous repository, whence may be learnt out stages of and advances in civilized life, and to gain a thorough knowledge of what it may teach, we must follow in the steps of such patient archæologists as the Rev. W. Greenwell, F.S.A., whose name is so intimately associated with discoveries from early interments, especially from those on the Yorkshire Wolds. Thus, from the barrow we learn that the flint arrow was used, both when cremation and inhumation were practised, when the potter's art was known, and from the Neolithic period, as we have seen, far into the Bronze age. It seems that the arrow was a weapon of still remoter times than those we are now considering, for the arrow-head has been discovered in some of the cave deposits of the Reindeer period in the South of France.

The classification of arrow-heads should properly follow upon the foregoing remarks; but here again I would refer the reader to Dr. John Evans's thorough exposition, under this head, of the many and varied objects which have yet been discovered.

The art of pottery was known in Britain in the Neolithic age; the discoveries which have been made show that the vessels were rudely formed by hand, and

* "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 328.

their colour is brown or black. Professor Boyd Dawkins says that they "have very generally rounded bottoms, not, it appears, to stand on tables, but in hollows, and that sometimes they are ornamented with patterns in light lines or in dots."

Through the courtesy of Mr. James Rutland, the Secretary of the Berks Archæological Society, I am enabled to give a few evidences of the existence of Palæolithic and Neolithic man in Buckinghamshire, or on its borders. Mr. Rutland informs me that in 1881, at Taplow, he found one Palæolithic scraper in the gravel pit in "Wittage," on the uppermost platform of the Thames Valley," being a post glacial drift, about 100 feet above the river. In 1882, he found one other Palæolithic scraper in the low level drift in "Windmill" field at Hitcham, and that another pear-shaped scraper has recently been found in the same drift, and which is now in the Reading Museum. In this low level drift, Mr. Rutland says, that there are many interesting animal remains, as of the Elephas primigenius, Bos primigenius, Equus fossilis, and rhinoceros. With reference to Neolithic man, Mr. Rutland informs me, that he possesses the following relics: One very finely chipped flint celt, nine inches in length and three inches in breadth, also two polished flint celts found in "Windmill Field," Hitcham; also a polished flint celt, broken and re-chipped, found at "Monkey Island," on the Thames; also a chipped flint celt from the Thames at "Braypoint;" a polished quartzite axe, 7 by 3, found in the Thames at Maidenhead Bridge, in 1882; a polished green stone celt or hatchet, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$, found in the Thames at Taplow Mills, 1883; a hammer formed of the antler of the Irish elk, found in the Thames at "Monkey Island;" a flint javelin head, found in "Roques Piece," Taplow; also several small flakes found in "Taplow Wood," the old Taplow churchyard,* Taplow Court Gardens, and other neigh-

* Since this paper was written, it will be interesting to note that a barrow in this churchyard has been opened, the opening resulting in the disclosure of the burial of some very distinguished personage of the early Saxon period. The remarkable relics taken from it are fully described by the Rev. B. Burgess, in an article in this number entitled, "Opening of a Tumulus at Taplow." It is worthy of observation, that among the débris forming the mound, traces at this spot of the earlier occupation of man have been discovered, through the flint implements, which are here abundant.

bouring spots. In association with these discoveries, Mr. Rutland refers me to the Geological Society's Journal, Vol. xii. p. 124, in which Professor Owen describes the skull of the Musk Buffalo (Bubalus moschatus) found in the low level gravel at Taplow, by the Rev. C. Kingsley and Sir John Lubbock. Dr. John Evans, in his work on "Stone Implements," mentions his finding in 1866 an arrow-head "on the surface of a field at the foot of the chalk escarpment, between Eddlesborough and Tring;" he gives an engraving of this arrow-head, and remarks of it, that "it can hardly be regarded as unfinished, though one of the surfaces is very rough, and the outline far from symmetrical. It shows rather how rude were some of the appliances of our savage predecessors in Britain." *

Dr. Evans also refers to Pulpit Wood, near Prince's Risborough, as an encampment or settlement, where flint flakes occur in numbers; and mentions that he has specimens of scrapers from an ancient encampment known as Pulpit Wood, near Wendover.

The Neolithic were a Non Ayrian race, short in stature and with long heads, and are identified with the ancient Iberians of history.† It appears that these short dark people had their origin in Central Asia, and that they migrated into Europe, and settled in Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and left an impress in these countries of an early civilization. It is supposed that the Basques descended from this race, and that the British tribes which were ultimately pushed into Wales, were a mixture of the Non Ayrian or Iberic race, and the later race, known as Celtic Ayrian; from these two races the Welshman of the present day is believed to owe his origin.

It is conjectured that the Neolithic race were so far distinct from the Cave men, that they did not owe their civilization to the latter, but that the Non Ayrian civilization gradually spread over Europe, how far back in the prehistoric period it is hard to say, that it was then followed in the Western Countries by the civilization of the Celtic or Ayrian race; and it is with a degree of certainty believed, that, amid all the chequered events in the history of Man in Europe, the advance in culture, and then its rude interruption, through the incursions

* "Ancient Stone Implements," p. 342. † "Early Man in Britain," p. 315.

from age to age of untutored hordes, pressing on into the richer heritage of peaceful tribes, the civilization thus introduced into Europe in the remote past never actually died out, but was kept alive, and handed down, as a priceless gift to the foremost nations of historic times.

HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, WYCOMBE.

SINCE the issue of the last number of the RECORDS, the new Grammar School buildings at Wycombe have been completed, they are set back some distance from the old structure. The Governors and their Architect, Mr. Arthur Vernon, were anxious to preserve the historical memorials which formed portions of the old School, and therefore in pulling it down, much care was taken to retain the Norman work intact. In the grounds fronting the New School may now be seen the remains of the Norman hall of the Hospital, and a portion of the north wall of the Chapel; to protect them from the elements, the arches have been roofed over; some mediæval woodwork, used for the purposes of a screen in the hall, is also preserved. These interesting relics are open to view from Easton Street, and are a source of attraction to the ancient borough town of Wycombe. When one considers the care with which every vestige of ancient Rome is preserved in the modern city, so abounding in archæological treasures, it would be strange, if the few remains of our past history preserved to us in our English towns, were not in an equal degree religiously guarded. The Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Wycombe peculiarly claims the interest of the townspeople, because the hospital was, as before observed, a town institution, it was a shelter for the poor and sick of the district, and its patrons were the Mayor and burgesses from very early times. The inhabitants of Wycombe, no less than archæologists, may well be grateful to the Governors of the Grammar School Foundation for having preserved with so much solicitude all that is spared to us of this ancient establishment.—ED.

FISH FASTS AND LICENSES TO EAT FLESH DURING LENT.

BY B. BEEDHAM, ESQ.

In a former volume of the Records of Buckinghamshire (vol. iii. pp. 24—30) is printed an original license granted toRichard Cartwright, to eat flesh on Fast Days, and to it are appended a few interesting notes by Mr. Sawtell, who communicated the license to the publication issued by our Society. Mr. Sawtell's observations are very much to the point, and correct the belief, not less general than it is erroneous, that Fish Fasts are of ecclesiastical obligation. Just before the beginning of Lent in the present year (1883), a London daily newspaper had a leading article upon this subject, whose tenor may be inferred from its opening sentences, which are these:—

"The practice of resorting to a diet of fish during Lent is an established usage of Catholic countries, which is probably an inheritance from times much earlier than the Church herself. The notion of a penitential fast has attached itself to the diet of fish, or rather, to the abstinence from flesh, and the dietetic practice has become a religious solemnity."

A journal, which issues day by day a quarter of a million copies, which come before several times that number of readers, is a good medium for the circulation of erroneous doctrine, in the sense that it is certain to be set right. It was so in this case, and the article in question drew forth remarks on a subject full of interest, and so very generally misunderstood, that I propose to embody them in this communication, availing myself for the most part of the language of the various writers.

In order to understand the true reason for Fish Fasts, it must be borne in mind that before the Reformation, all good Catholics and all persons with any pretence to good breeding, were expected to abstain from flesh meat on certain days; hence fish, as the next best substitute, became the chief food on these *jours maigres*; but eating fish under such circumstances was considered a sort of penance; hence, when at the Reformation it was decided to

abolish Fast Days as a religious ordinance, a fear arose that no one would eat fish. The fishing interests raised a clamour, and politicians began to fear a national injury. They argued, if people are not obliged to eat fish, they will not eat fish, and the fishing trade will be abandoned; but the fisheries are the nurseries of our seamen, and if we can get no sailors to man our Navy, England will no longer be able to hold her own among the nations; therefore, it was decided that the Fast Days, though abandoned for religious, should be retained for political purposes. The proof of this statement is to be found in the "Homily on Fasting," Part ii.

"But first an answer shall be made to a question that some may make, demanding what judgment we ought to have of such abstinences as are appointed by public order and laws made by Princes and by authority of the Magistrates, upon policy and not respecting any religion at all in the same, as when any realm in consideration of maintaining the fisher towns and for the increase of fishermen, of whom do spring mariners to go upon the sea, to the furnishing of the navy of the realm, whereby may be a necessary defence to resist the invasion of the adversary; . . . by which positive laws, though we subjects for certain times and days appointed be restrained from some kind of meats which God hath left free to be taken and used of all men, at all times, yet for that such laws of Princes and other Magistrates are not made to put holiness in one kind of meat and drink more than another, to make one day more holy than another, but are grounded merely upon policy, all subjects are bound to keep them."

There is, moreover, a Statute of Queen Elizabeth, which, it is believed, is unrepealed, and which enacts that—

"Whosoever shall declare that any eating of fish, or abstaining of flesh mentioned therein, is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is the service of God any otherwise than as other politick laws are and be, that then such shall be punished as the spreaders of false news are and ought to be."—*Act Elizb.* 5.

During the reigns of James I. and Charles I. several Royal Proclamations were issued "for Restrainte of killing, dressing, and eating of Flesh in Lent, or on Fish

Dayes appoynted by the Law to be hereafter strictly observed by all Sorts of People." They speak of "divers Laws and Statutes made and enacted for the due Observation of Lent and other Dayes appointed for Fish Dayes, as well for the sparing and encrease of Flesh Victualls, as for the Maintenance of the Navye and Shipping of this Realm, by the Encouragement of Fishermen to goe to the Seas for the taking of Fyshe." After placing restrictions upon the butchers and their trade, they end in the following (to us) quaint way :—

"For that the Fishmongers may perhaps take Occasion thereby to enhaunce the Prices as well of fresh as of Seafish, Wee doe, therefore, hereby further charge and commaunde all Fishmongers whatsoever, that they sell and utter their Fish at moderate Rates and usuall prices upon Paine of Our high displeasure and such further Punishment as may be inflicted upon them by Our Lawes."

In the parish register of Stock, Essex, is this entry :

"1663.—Mr. Coo and his wife in regard of their sicknesse and ilbeing were licensed according to ye statute, to eat flesh this Lent by mee.—William Pindar, Parson. Received for ye entering of both 8d."

This was communicated by the Rector, Mr. E. Pendarves Gibson, who (and the fact is somewhat singular) in spite of the distinct reference to the statute considered that, after the Restoration, the Lenten Fast was of ecclesiastical obligation. He was quickly set right by ten correspondents, one of whom, Mr. J. W. Millard, Rector of Shimpling, Norfolk, forwards the following from the register of his parish :—

"Memorandum, that the last day of February, 1636, I sealed a license and delivered it to my present patron, Mr. Mott, allowinge him liberty accordinge to the Statute in this case provided, for to eate some flesh meat this Lent, for his comfortable reliefe in his present sickness and weakness in nature.

"Teste me Ni. Colt, rectore ibidem."

Sir Sherston Baker, Bart., a barrister, writes, "That he has in his possession the copy of a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury, granting, by virtue of the Statute in such case made and provided, permission to John Hacker, of Flintham, in the county of Nottingham,

to eat flesh in Lent, on paying 6s. 8d. to the poor box of the parish. It is dated 24th February, 1662, and is written in Latin."

Sir Sherston Baker continues as follows, with respect to Mr. Gibson's communication, and to the license referred to by him :—

"The license . . . . although granted by the parson of the parish, was granted 'according to ye Statute.' That is to say, according to the Statute 5th Eliz., c. 5, which was amended by the 27th Eliz., c. 11. By the foregoing Statutes, Fish Days were to be observed 'for the benefit and commodity of this realm, to grow as well in maintenance of the Navy as in sparing and increase of flesh victual of this realm;' but all persons who were forced by sickness to eat flesh, 'shall be sufficiently licensed by the Bishop of the Diocese, or by the parson, vicar, or curate of the parish,' and the license was to be registered in the Church book, and the party licensed was to pay fourpence for the entry thereof. It will be noticed that this all agrees exactly with the license quoted by Mr. Gibson. The Statute then goes on to enact that, 'no manner of person shall misjudge the intent of this Statute limiting orders to eat fish, and to forbear eating of flesh; but that the same is purposely intended and meant politickly for the increase of fishermen and mariners, and repairing of port towns and navigation, and not for any superstition.' And again, the Statute that, 'whosoever shall by preaching, teaching, writing, or open speech, notify that any eating of fish mentioned in this Statute is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is the service of God otherwise than as other politic laws are and be,' shall be punished as a spreader of false news."

Among the archives of the ancient Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, is a license similar in all respects to that in the possession of Sir Sherston Baker, granted in the same year, and by the same Archbishop to one John Carter.

Thus, after following a road longer and somewhat more varied than that over which Mr. Sawtell led us, we find ourselves at the same spot as that to which he conducted us. The ecclesiastical idea ought to be abandoned as unsound, and, indeed, one of the writers, whom I

have quoted, concludes his remarks with this inquiry:—"As these Fish Fasts, therefore, however wholesome they may be, are of State, not of Church obligation, is there not a tinge of Erastianism in observing them?"

It may be interesting to add that in 1550, King Edward VI. granted a license to Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to his family and guests, to eat flesh meat for all the life-time of the said Thomas Cranmer, during Lent and other Fast Days. This license may be seen in Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. xv., p. 210. It appears to be granted (as it recites) by virtue of the 2nd and 3rd Edw. VI., cap. 19, which Statute declares that "The King's subjects now having a more perfect and clear light of the Gospel by the hands of the King's Majesty and his most noble father of famous memory," thereby perceive "that one day or one kind of meat of itself is not more holy, more pure, or more clean than another." Yet that divers of them, "turning their knowledge to satisfy their sensuality, have in late times more than in times past broken and contemned such abstinence which hath been used in this realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, the Embring days, and other days commonly called Vigils, and in the time commonly called Lent." The Statute then proceeds to recite, that the King, "considering that due and godly abstinence is a mean to virtue and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit, and considering also that fishers may thereby the rather be set on work, and that by the eating of fish, much flesh shall be increased," ordains, with the consent of Parliament, that all Statutes and usages concerning fasting or abstinence shall be void; but orders abstinence from flesh during Lent, and on all Fridays and Saturdays of the year. By the 5th and 6th Edw. VI., cap. 3, the eves of certain Feasts shall be kept as Fast Days, and although the former Statute was repealed by the 19th and 20th Vict., cap. 64, the latter is, probably, still capable of being enforced.

It only remains to state, for the benefit of those who desiderate precise references, that the journal referred to is the *Standard* for February, 1883, that the leading article appeared on the 10th, and the other articles on the 13th, 19th, 21st, 23rd, 26th, and 28th of that month. On the 26th, Sir Sherston Baker printed at full length

the license in his possession, but very inaccurately by reason of his want of acquaintance both with the handwriting of the period, and with the form of the document, which is similar to that printed by Mr. Sawtell.

I conclude by recording of my own knowledge that the Duke of Manchester has amongst his muniments a license in English granted to one of his ancestors by the famous John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. See also on this subject, pp. 77 and 78 of the new edition of Waters's *Parish Registers in England*, published in 1883.

PAPER ON THE ENTRENCHMENT IN BULSTRODE PARK.

BY THE REV. BRYANT BURGESS.

Read at the Annual Meeting, July 19th, 1883.

We are assembled in a very ancient park of some eight hundred acres, of which it has been said that not an acre is level ground; but this is not true of the space within the entrenchment. Sir Bernard Burke says:—"It was a park in the Saxon era; the same park now; aye, and one of the most beautiful in the kingdom;" but the ground on which we stand takes us back, or at least makes us think, of earlier times still. This oval entrenchment contains as much as twenty or twenty-one acres, and whenever it was made, it must have been a work of great labour, energetically done, for a fixed purpose. It has been called a Roman camp, but I think the Bucks Archæological Society will not consider it so; nor again a Danish camp, except that it probably belongs to the era of their incursions. It reminds us of the earthworks at Cholesbury and Maidenbower, near Dunstable, and also of those at Whelpley Hill, Hawridge, and Desborough. In viewing that remarkable spot last year we had the benefit of Mr. Downs's views as to the period and object of its construction, and I think they may help us to something more than a conjecture as to the camp before us. It is on record that in January, 1010, the Danes left London and passed through Chiltern to Oxford, and if, as has been supposed, the fortification

of Desborough was made by the Saxons in its present form to resist an attack by the invaders as they passed along the road below, the position of this camp at Bulstrode more than suggests that it had a like origin, situated on the high tableland, so near the way from London. Whether or not there may have been a stockaded British village on the same site, it is impossible to say; but it must strike one as agreeing with the well-known description of Cæsar's suggested by the camp of Cassivelaunus, with its large number of men and cattle within the enclosure (De Bello Gallico, v. 17)—*Oppidum Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandæ causa convenire consueverunt.* The vallum appears to have crumbled away very much on the western side. The oaks, standing high in air upon their arched roots, show that the ground was higher in their young days. There appear to have been six entrances. A portion of flint wall, apparently part of a gateway, remains at the northern entrance. The name of Bulstrode is said to have had its origin in a very remarkable circumstance, of which the history is given by Sir Bernard Burke, in his "Vicissitudes of Families." The original name of the Bulstrode family was Shobbington, and this their chief seat was in the family for several ages before the arrival of the Normans. The Norman Conqueror, however, granted the estate to one of his nobles; but the head of the Shobbingtons resolved rather to die upon the spot than part with his possessions. In this resolution he armed his servants and tenants, whose number was very considerable, upon which the Norman lord obtained of the King one thousand of his regular troops to enable him to take possession of the estate by force. Whereupon Shobbington applied to his relations and friends to assist him, and the two ancient families of the Hampdens and Penns, illustrious in the annals not only of Bucks, but of England and America, took arms, together with their servants and tenants, and came to his relief. All the Shobbington party having assembled, they cast up entrenchments, and the Norman, with his forces, encamped before them. Now, whether it was that the Saxons wanted horses or not is uncertain, but the story goes that having maneged a number of bulls, they

mounted them, and, sallying out in the night, surprised the Normans in their camp, killed many of them, and put the rest to flight. The King, having intelligence of this, and not thinking it safe for him, while his power was yet new and unsettled, to drive a daring and obstinate people to despair, sent a herald to them to know what they would have, and promised Shobbington a safe conduct if he would come to Court, which Shobbington accordingly did, riding thither on a bull, accompanied by his seven sons. Being introduced into the Royal presence, the King asked him why he dared to resist when the rest of the kingdom had submitted to his government. Shobbington answered that he and his ancestors had long enjoyed that estate, and that if he would permit him to keep it he would become his subject and be faithful to him. The King therefore granted him the free enjoyment of his estate, upon which the family was from thence called Shobbington, *alias* Bulstrode. But in process of time the first name was discontinued, and that of Bulstrode only has remained to them." Sir B. Burke adds, "The earthworks in the park are said to be the remains of the entrenchments thrown up by Shobbington." Had they existed previously, no doubt they would have been utilized at such a time, and if the Shobbingtons had been equally plucky sixty years before, it is highly probable that they would have resisted the Danes, and Sweyn, passing on his way to Oxford, and having been successful against Danish invaders, they would have been encouraged, by the prestige of their family, to hold their own against their Norman foes. The manor of Bulstrode was in possession of the Abbey of Burnham, founded in 1265 by Richard Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans. The Abbey had license to alienate it to William de Montacute, Earl of Sarum, who in 1338 gave it to the Abbey of Bisham, but after the Reformation the Bulstrodes were in full possession again. Their names, with those of their relatives the Whitelocks of Fawley Court, appear in the history of the times of Charles I., the Commonwealth, and Charles II. Sir James Whitelock, who married Elizabeth Bulstrode, was an eminent judge, and father of Lord Keeper Whitelock. Sir Richard Bulstrode, a learned lawyer and author, a brave soldier and good man, followed the fortunes of the Stuarts through good

and evil report. When nearly eighty years of age he accompanied James II. to France, and died at the Court of St. Germains shortly after he had completed his hundred and first year. The manor was bought by the infamous Judge Jefferys, of Sir Roger Hill, M.P. for Wendover. He was Chief Justice—a sad misnomer—of Chester. In the patent of his baronetcy, dated 1681, he is called Sir George Jefferys of Bulstrode. He built a mansion here in 1686 of reddish brick, "blood-stained, as the people declared it to be in Jefferys' time." This was burnt, it appears, and he then removed to the Grange at Chalfont St. Peter's. The property was sold by the son-in-law of Lord Jefferys to the Earl of Portland, who had had the chief superintendence of the expedition which placed William III. on the throne. The King visited him at Bulstrode. Brasses of the Bulstrode family still exist in Upton Church, and in Hedgerly Church is a very curious Palimpsest brass of Mrs. Margaret Bulstrode, who died in 1540. The marriage register contains the following entry — "William, the son of Sir Thomas Stringer, and Margaret, the daughter of George Lord Jeffery, Baron of Wem, and Lord High Chancellor of England, married by my Lord Bishop of Rochester, Oct. 15th, 1687. Henry Paisley, rector." The second Earl of Portland was raised to the dukedom by George I. in 1716. The third duke married in 1734 Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, only daughter and heir of Edward Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. She collected a famous museum at Bulstrode, and was the owner of the well-known Portland Vase. The collection was sold after her death in 1785. Mrs. Montague's letters describe the life at Bulstrode in the time of this the great Duchess of Portland, when the Grotto was the scene of the Duchess and Mrs. Delany's chatty tea parties. She entertained on these occasions many celebrities of the day, the eccentric Duchess of Queensberry, Edmund Burke, Dr. Young, Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Solander, Pennant, Garrick, etc. The Royal Family during their residence at Windsor were frequent visitors, coming over of an evening with flambeaux. Mrs. Delany mentions the comet of 1769, when "Mrs. Anne says that the tail is as long as the gallery at Bulstrode." Horace Walpole, in one of his letters, writes—"Bulstrode is a melancholy

monument of Dutch magnificence" (he was, by the way, very fond of the word "melancholy," for when he visited Latimer's he called that "melancholy"), "however, there is a brave gallery of old pictures, and a chapel with two fine windows of painted glass. The ceiling was formerly decorated with the assumption, or rather presumption, of Chancellor Jefferys, to whom it belonged; but a very judicious fire hurried him somewhere else."* During the premiership of the fourth duke the road to London was constantly traversed by despatches rushing from Westminster to Bulstrode. When the manor was sold in 1814 it become the property of an older ducal family—the eleventh Duke of Somerset. Part of the old house, the Gerrards Cross wing, supposed by some to have been the Orangery, for a time adjoined the new mansion, but it has been pulled down. It was let for a long time to the Misses Reid, who built the church as a memorial of their brother, General Reid. The park, that was long without a suitable mansion, has regained its former cheerfulness, the present Duke of Somerset having built it anew. The present ivy-clad tower has been constructed with old materials. It is related that the last Duke of Portland who lived at Bulstrode directed in his will that the fine herd of deer in the park should be killed and buried. The executors faithfully carried out this extraordinary direction; but it is almost needless to add that the venison was dug up again before it had become high.

Our thoughts have been led back to very different times from our own—to what some would call the good old times; but with all our faults—and they are many—the days in which our lot is cast are far better. We have no ravaging Danes, no Norman conquerors slaying and confiscating, no Lord Chancellor Jefferys. Never, I believe, was there more prosperity and safety and comfort in this England of ours, more peace, and true religion. When we look at the new church and the many admirable institutions, and the general appearance of prosperity at Gerrard's Cross, we rejoice to know that there are in England many who, like the Miss Reids, whose names will ever be held in honour here, delight to devote their wealth to the good of their neighbours and to the glory of God.

* "Sheahan's Bucks." *Victoria Magazine*, Oct. 1867.

OPENING OF A TUMULUS AT TAPLOW.

BY THE REV. B. BURGESS.

A VERY interesting discovery of sepulchral and other relics has resulted from the opening of the well-known tumulus at this place. Situated in the old churchyard, close to Taplow Court, it is remarkable for the beauty of its situation on the angle of the hills, overlooking the valley of the Thames. The slopes in front of Taplow Court still bear the name of the "Bury Fields," showing that there the British Celts had their *beorgh*, or fortified hill-top, and the rich dark soil contains fragments of pottery and artificially formed flakes of flint. When the ancient church that once stood there was removed in 1828, to be replaced by one in a more central position in the village, the traces of the old ditch and *vallum* which formed this British stronghold were exposed. The very pond which, just below it, formed its only source of water supply, is said by local tradition to have been that in which heathen Saxons were baptised by St. Berinus. The very name of the village itself goes back into early history. Taplow, or Tap-hlœwe, is but the "Mound on the hill-top," and in the heart of the old Norman churchyard the mound still stands. It was an old occupation-site, and possibly a holy one, in the earliest days. Celt and Romano-Briton certainly lived there; and early Christendom consequently placed its church there. The mound is 240ft. in circumference and about 15ft. high, and on its summit were the dead remains of an ancient yew-tree, whose knotted trunk is nearly six feet thick, and whose age may be estimated at possibly six hundred years.

All archæologists must feel that they owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Grenfell, lord of the manor of Taplow, and to the Rev. Mr. Whateley, rector of the parish, for their freely-accorded permission to ascertain the real meaning of the ancient mound; and still more to Mr. J. Rutland, secretary of the Berks Archæological Society, for personally undertaking the laborious task of superintending and carrying out the excavation. It was felt very

desirable to disturb the form and character of the tumulus as little as possible, so that it might be eventually restored to its former external condition; and, irrespective of the enormous weight of the old yew-tree which rendered its removal extremely difficult, it was decided that if possible it should remain undisturbed. But the results have very fully repaid the care taken, and probably no richer or more instructive discovery has been made in the south of England. A line having been traced due north and south on the surface, a cutting six feet wide was made about four feet above the ground level on the south side of the mound until it reached the foot of the tree, and thence a shaft was sunk downward and underneath the root, and united with a second vertical shaft sunk on its north side. The earth material throughout the whole of the excavation was very loose and friable, and showed traces of the way in which it had been piled up. It was composed of the natural red sandy gravel of the surface, mixed and intercalated with black earthy matter; and throughout it contained fragments of bones and teeth of horse, pig, and ox, and broken pieces of British and Romano-British pottery. One fragment of Samian ware, at a depth of sixteen feet, showed that Roman vessels had been brought there, and some pieces of coarse brown ware had their surface pinched up into rough knobs similar to those designated "grape cups" by Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his "History of Wiltshire." Flakes of flint and used "scrapers" were also numerous, but there were no decidedly human bones. All this pointed but to one conclusion—that, whatever the tumulus was erected for, it was post-Roman.

On October 15th, 1883, Mr. Rutland, with ten men, began the excavation. At a depth of twelve feet, a pair of bronze tweezers were found, but at about eighteen or twenty feet from the top of the barrow its sepulchral character became at last clear. In the dark brown earth were uncovered lines of gold, and these, on being carefully removed, proved to be the remains of gold fringe, about an inch wide. They lay as if forming the edge of a garment extending diagonally downward from the shoulder across the body. But all doubt as to the nature of the interment was set at rest by finding close to this a magnificent gold buckle, weighing about four ounces. In

length about four inches, as rich in colour as if just manufactured, enamelled and most richly chased with elaborate ornamentation, it seemed to have suffered little by its long entombment. Just below it was the owner's iron sword, heavily rusted in the sheath, and so friable as to break into fragments when it was removed; and near to this latter were two other gold clasps, smaller in size than the shoulder buckle, but equally beautiful, in one of which was a fragment of stamped leather. From the impression in a fragment of decayed wood which enclosed this, it seemed as if the upper garment had been composed of woven woollen fibre, gathered round the waist by a leather belt fastened by two buckles, and over all an upper gold-fringed cloak or tunicle, fastened on the shoulder by the heavy brooch of gold. On the right of the sword were the remains of an iron knife, probably the "sceax." There were scarcely any traces of bone. The scarce fragments were very friable and broken; but from the presence of numerous decayed fragments, it seemed as if the entire body, clad in its Royal robes, had been covered over by broad planks of wood. Over the middle of the interment was a large pile of archæological treasure. Underneath was the heavy wood-lined and bronze-plated circular shield, resting on which were two drinking horns, the small ends of which were encased in gilded bronze, and the mouths encircled by embossed rings of silver.

Remains of armillæ, or bracelets, silver-rimmed and of bronze, with deeply serrated edges, lay near; and on the north-west side of the shield were the relics of a wooden bucket, encased with richly-stamped bronze. Mingled with these were the fragments of at least two vessels of thin, greenish glass, ornamented with parallel horizontal lines, similar to modern "Venetian" glass, and decorated with broad, projecting spikes of glass. Such vessels are known to be of Saxon times. Mr. Llewellin Jewett pictures them, and their forms are well known; but the fragments of these at Taplow certainly show a larger and richer variety than those which have been hitherto found. The largest was certainly four inches wide at the mouth and eleven inches high. There was yet another vase of a similar character close to the large gold buckle; but all these were in fragments, and

so friable were the remains that it was impossible, even with the utmost care, to remove them other than piecemeal. It is probable, too, that, judging from the number of the bronze and iron fragments, some of them may be found to form portions of a helmet or of body armour; but this is at present merely conjecture. Over the wooden plank that undoubtedly protected these relics—for it was found completely enclosing and covering them—was placed the spear, which in this case had the point towards the west, and, moreover, had a barbed point, with a very long iron socket.

The rectangular grave measured twelve feet by eight feet. At the south-east angle of this was a bronze vase twelve inches high and sixteen inches in diameter, the dish of which is twelve-sided, with knobs at the angles, and with massive drop handles on either side. Underneath it was a small drinking-horn with silver-gilt terminals and bands. Near it lay the fragments of a glass vessel, and another bucket twelve inches in diameter, similar to the one at the north-west corner. In the north-east corner were also two umbos or bosses of war shields, each five inches wide by three-and-a-half inches high; one iron knife; and one iron ring four-and-a-half inches in diameter.

The exploration was completed on Nov. 8th by the discovery of another glass vessel and a small drinking-horn like the others; a silver-gilt ornament of crescent shape about six inches long, one-and-an-eighth inch wide, and three-quarters inch thick; an iron spear, about ten inches long; and lastly, about thirty circular tube-shaped rings of ivory about an inch high, the ends of which were closed by ivory discs united by a silver pin, probably counters for a game. A number of vertebræ were found in a connected line in the general direction of the grave, and a fragment of jaw-bone, containing one tooth, lay at the eastern end. Apparently the body lay a little south of east and north of west, with the head towards the east; and that the decorations are Scandinavian admits of little doubt. From the presence of so much treasure, under so great a mound of earth, its owner must have been a man of note. From the bronze bucket, which was used in Saxon ships of war, he possibly was one of those hardy pirates who ravaged the

coasts and rivers of Britain when the Romans had deserted them. There is much to be learnt from the discovery, as well as interesting relics to be treasured. Gold ornaments of exquisite workmanship are placed with bronze armour and with iron arms. The underside of the shield was strengthened with a ring of iron, as was also the bottom of the bucket. With gold for decoration, bronze for defence, and iron for offence, the discovery affords another and most satisfactory proof of how difficult it is to distinguish between, or argue dogmatically about, definite "ages of bronze and iron." Whoever the chieftain was, he lived on the borderland between the two.

The authorities of the British Museum believe the remains to be of early Saxon date, although they were described in the newspapers as Norse or Scandinavian. From the quantity of bronze armour, it would point to an early date when that metal was more commonly used for defensive purposes than iron. The later Anglo-Saxon was more of an iron-using man, and his armour of metal plates or rings sewed on a leather or woollen fabric resembled in character that of the Norman soldiers of William. Certainly he must have belonged to that great northern Teutonic race of which the Danes, the Saxons, the Angles, and the Normans themselves were all offshoots. So complete an example of the method of interment of these early chieftains of Britain has probably never been found in the southern counties of England.

The objects discovered are now placed in the British Museum. One of the glass vessels has been very carefully put together and restored. The collection has been very well drawn and engraved in the *Illustrated London News* of Nov. 17th and Nov. 24th, 1883.

A young yew tree has been planted on the site of the old one by the Hon. Mrs. Boyle, of Huntercombe.

Vide Paper read at Burlington House, Dec. 6th, 1883, by James Rutland, Esq., and article in *The Times* of Nov. 6th, 1883.

The Annual Excursion and Meeting of the Bucks Archæological Society for 1885.

THE annual excursion of the Members of this Society took place on Thursday, July 19th. They first visited Beaconsfield, where the Church was inspected. They were met at the entrance to the edifice by the Rev. S. V. Bowles and Mr. Edward L. Lawson, the Lord of the Manor. The grave of Edmund Burke was, of course, the great attraction here. The slab which covers the grave bears an inscription stating that it was placed there in 1862, under the auspices of the Rev. John Gould, B.D., rector of Beaconsfield, by Edmund Haviland Burke, Esq. The Rev. S. V. Bowles, in giving some account of the parish and its name, pointed out that the "a" was a modern importation into the name. In old registers and records the name was spelt without the "a." The word, therefore, had nothing to do with Beacon, as was supposed by many, nor was it pronounced Beaconsfield by the inhabitants of the place, so he had no doubt that the original word meant a field or open space in the beech trees. He had written to Mr. Hearn, professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, requesting him to inform him, and he agreed with him that the name was derived from the Saxon "becken," so there was no doubt it meant a place in the beech woods. It was a question when it became a parish. In 1265 Burnham Abbey was founded, and in the time of Edward the Confessor the Manor of Beaconsfield was in the possession of a certain family. Of the old Church only the nave remained, and the windows on one side were exactly as they were. The Church contains Burke's tomb, the tomb belonging to the Bulstrode family, and an interesting object in the vestry was a chest which had been manufactured out of Burke's square pew. Having inspected the Church, the party viewed the tomb of Waller, the poet, which occupies a large space of ground beneath a spreading tree in the churchyard. The old Rectory House, which contains some curious specimens of ancient wainscoted walls, was next visited, after which the members drove to "The Gregories," where the house of Edmund Burke formerly stood. No trace of the mansion, which was destroyed by fire, remains, but a portion of the stables, to which some additions have been made, still remains.

A pleasant drive through the tree-shaded avenues of Wilton Park, brought the members to the mansion of Mr. C. G. Du Pré, by whom they were cordially welcomed. Mr. Du Pré entertained them to lunch. On the conclusion of the luncheon, the Rev. Canon Evetts, as the oldest member of the society, thanked Mr. Du Pré on behalf of the members for the hospitality he had shown them. Mr. Du Pré, in replying, assured his visitors that it gave him much pleasure to entertain them. A short drive from Wilton Park brought the members to Bulstrode House, the seat of the Duke of Somerset. Owing to the time occupied in the perambulations of the morning, a contemplated visit to Jordans to view the grave of Penn was abandoned. A paper on the subject, by Mr. Robert Gibbs, was therefore taken as read.

Arrived at Bulstrode House, Mr. J. C. King (by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Somerset) escorted the members over the mansion and grounds, after which the camp was visited. The Rev. B. Burgess then read a paper on this interesting relic of bygone years, which appears in this number of the RECORDS.

After this the Church of Gerrard's Cross was visited. The members

then drove to Hedgerley, where they were received by Mr. Henry Liggins, brother-in-law of the rector (the Rev. E. Baylis), who was prevented receiving them as had been arranged, being unwell. They then proceeded to inspect the Church, a Gothic building, which stands on a slight elevation, and Mr. Liggins kindly favoured them with a short historical retrospect of the edifice. It was erected in 1852 by the rector, about fifty yards from the old Church, which was in a very dilapidated condition at the time. The walls, which were merely constructed of clay and chalk, were not preserved. The altar rail, brasses, and other features were, however, removed, and were placed in the newly-erected Church. One of the brasses is in memory of Margaret, wife of Edward Bulstrode, who died in 1540, and during the process of removal it was found that the reverse side had been previously used for a memorial to an abbot of St. Edmundsbury, who died two centuries before. The brass shows the figure of a lady attired in a dress of the period of Henry VIII., together with her ten sons and three daughters. The pulpit rail and other woodwork were, it is stated, taken from a Church at Antigua, where Mr. Liggins has an estate.

From Hedgerley the members drove to Hall Barn, the estate of Mr. Edward L. Lawson. Mr. and Mrs. Lawson received them very cordially, and they were shown many interesting relics of Edmund Burke, concerning which Mr. Lawson kindly addressed them. Having promised to escort them to the grotto where it is supposed Waller composed many of his poems, and where Milton occasionally resorted, he referred to the house itself. The large rooms were built by Sir Gore Ouseley, for the reception of Queen Adelaide. Many of the articles which those rooms formerly contained had passed into the possession of Mr. C. G. Du Pré, and his predecessors sold a portion of the estate of Hall Barn to Edmund Burke. It seemed to him (Mr. Lawson) that the more they studied that part of history, on the threshold of which they stood, the more they would admire the genius of that great man, and respect the work which he did, and therefore the interest which centred in Beaconsfield was likely to grow greater in the future. It was especially worthy of the attention of a society like that, because it was the spot on which the few happy years of Burke's life were spent. He did not refer to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke the statesman, but rather to the characteristics of one whom he had found commonly talked about in the neighbourhood as 'squire Burke. It did not seem to him that Burke was ever particularly desirous to own land for the sake of the dignity and position it gave him; his genius soared above considerations of that kind. He was an enthusiastic lover of fresh air. In 1750 he went up to the Temple as a student, without knowing a soul in London. In three years his health gave way, and he was compelled to leave town and go into the fresh air. He went to Bristol, which he represented; but having a craving for life in the country, he became proprietor of a part of the Hall Barn Estate, which was commonly known as "The Gregories," in 1768. The manner in which he became possessed of the property had given rise to a good deal of discussion; his enemies asserted that he was not entitled to possession, as he could not afford to purchase it, and endeavoured to ascertain how he could have become possessed of the sum of £20,000, which was the amount of the purchase money. There was a story that it was given him by Lord Verney, to whom he had been of great service, and who was said to have brought it to the hall in bags, and the expression of Burke's countenance when he saw the money bags had been vividly described. He (the speaker) did not place any reliance on that story. The more probable narrative was that Lord Rockingham, in 1767, thought the time

had arrived when he should do something for the man whose brain had always been at his disposal, and who had been the most faithful of all servants, and had done work which money could not pay for. Lord Rockingham gave Burke £10,000. There was a bond given for that sum, which was cancelled by Lord Rockingham on his death-bed. Burke raised £5,000 more upon a mortgage from Dr. Saunders, a friend of his, and the rest was probably contributed by his brother Richard. With the money thus obtained Burke established himself at The Gregories. The actual name of Burke's house was, he believed, not The Gregories, but Butler's Court, as letters from visitors who stayed with him were dated in that name. He referred to Burke's domestic life, and submitted to the inspection of the party a tea tray which had formerly been Burke's property, which had been bought by the father of a very old man who had worked on the estate for many years, and presented to him. They could imagine how many eminent men and women had been gathered round that tray in past years; amongst them would be Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, the beautiful Miss Palmer, who afterwards wedded Lord Inchiquin, Miss Verney, Charles Fox, Wyndham, and Oliver Goldsmith. Lord Chatham's coach frequently passed the estate on its way to his lordship's brother-in-law, Lord Temple, at Stowe. In the course of his rural life Burke became one of the most practical farmers in the county. In 1792 shadows fell over the house. Richard Burke, Edmund Burke's brother, died, and shortly afterwards Burke's son fell very ill, and on the day following a dinner to celebrate the return of Burke for Malton, his son died. So intense was the grief of Edmund Burke and his wife, that Dr. Brocklesby, an intimate friend, and the family medical adviser, said it was the most awful scene he had ever witnessed. Burke applied for the Chiltern Hundreds, and with the exception of occasional visits to London, he passed his life in the country in great melancholy, wandering aimlessly about the place, except when he devoted his time and attention to the poor people in the neighbourhood. In 1795 a bad harvest aroused him from his stupor. He put up a mill in one of the fields which had been visited that day, in which the corn was ground for the poor to eat. His efforts to fight against his sorrow and the malady which had attacked him proved unavailing, and in 1797 he died. From 1797 to 1812 Mrs. Burke continued to live in that house, her efforts being directed to paying the debts which Burke had left behind him. With the exception of the house, and the garden which surrounded it, the property was sold to Mr. Du Pré's family. In 1812 Mrs. Burke died. Very shortly afterwards a fire occurred by which the house was nearly consumed, little or nothing of it being left except the stable which the company had seen. He explained that he had thus entered into detail in order that those present might be able to refute those rumours which enemies of Burke were prompted by exaggerated political feeling to circulate. He then called the attention of the company to the relics on the table, including a letter to Burke from William Pitt, a few notes written in Burke's handwriting, of Parliamentary speeches, which included one relating to the impeachment of Warren Hastings, which read as follows :—

"Hastings worth nothing; he has left nobody else worth anything."

Mr. Lawson also exhibited a dagger which formerly belonged to Burke. Much, he said, had been said about Burke throwing down a dagger on the House of Commons floor, and Mr. John Morley had written that the story was not worth credence, but he (the speaker) ventured to think that that idea was founded upon a misconception. What really did happen was this—an Alien Bill was introduced into the House at the time of the French excesses, when Burke's mind was excited. He was going down to

the House to support the Bill, and on his way he called at the Foreign Office and had a chat with an under-secretary, who in talking over these matters said, "An order has been given in Birmingham for ever so many thousand daggers; they are to be made according to sample, and I have one here." He pulled it out and showed it to Burke, who said, "I wish you would let me have it." He took it down to the House of Commons with him, and when he came to that portion of his speech relating to the deeds of the French, he told the story he had heard at the Foreign Office to enforce his argument, and producing the dagger threw it down on the floor, so that the members might see the sort of weapon that had been ordered, saying that it must have been intended for murderous purposes and not for open war. He protested at the same time against French principles and French daggers. The dagger was brought from London to Beaconsfield by William Webster, Burke's confidential servant. It was given by Webster to the head carpenter of the estate, by whose mother it was given to the father of Messrs. J. and R. Rolfe, his (Mr. Lawson's) agents; so the story was pretty well authenticated. Mr. Lawson also submitted to the inspection of the company a portion of Burke's dinner service and other articles possessing an historical interest. If (Mr. Lawson added) there was a moral to this story of a quiet life and its tragic end, it must be this, that they might perhaps profitably view in a spirit of greater charity, greater generosity, and with more gratitude than was frequently shown, the lives and conduct of those public men who devoted their brains and their very lives, and everything that was dearest to them, to the service of their country. (Applause.)

The members then examined with much interest the collection of relics which Mr. Lawson had shown them. The letter from William Pitt to Burke was written in a clear flowing hand. In it Mr. Pitt presented his compliments to Mr. Burke, and took the liberty of enclosing an amended copy of the Forest Bill, to which he urged a fair trial should be given. The letter continued—

"Many very well-informed persons honour this scheme with their approbation. Mr. Burke's is most heartily wished for."

A second letter addressed by the Duke of Manchester to Burke when the latter was secretary to Lord Rockingham, gave a curious insight to the corrupt patronage which was prevalent at the period; the Duke promised his co-operation in a scheme of reform which was being mooted at the time, and as some additional work was about to be thrown on the Lord Chamberlain's department, he enclosed a list of persons whom he wished to see appointed to the new offices.

An adjournment was then made to the mansion, where a collation was provided. About a hundred guests sat down, and were most hospitably entertained by Mr. Lawson and Mrs. Lawson. On its conclusion, the Annual Meeting of the Society was held, the Rev. Canon Evetts in the chair. The report showed that the total receipts for the year had been £52 17s. 9d., and that there was a balance owing to the Treasurer of £1 1s. 5d. One of the Hon. Secretaries, the Rev. C. Lowndes, had intimated his intention of retiring, but the Chairman referred to his efforts in the past on behalf of the Society, and urged him to retain his office with some assistance. He moved that he be requested to continue as hon. secretary, and that a layman be appointed to assist him. This proposition was unanimously carried, and the Rev. Charles Lowndes consented to hold office for a further term. The other two hon. secretaries, the Rev. Bryant Burgess and Rev. J. Wood, were also unanimously re-elected. Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Horwood, the auditors, were also re-appointed on the motion of Mr. W. Ward (Aylesbury), and several

new members were elected. Mr. Lowndes moved, and Mr. J. K. Fowler seconded, a vote of thanks to the chairman. Canon Evetts having acknowledged it, and expressed the pleasure it gave him to be of assistance to the Society, tendered a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Lawson for having so hospitably entertained them. This was seconded by the Rev. R. H. Pigott, who also congratulated the Society on retaining the services of the Rev. C. Lowndes, as hon. secretary.

Report of General Meeting, 1884.

A General Meeting of the members of the Bucks Architectural and Archæological Society was held on Monday, the 7th April, at the Society's Rooms, Church Street, Aylesbury. The Hon. T. F. Fremantle, M.P., presided during the first part of the meeting, and on his having to leave, the Hon. Percy Barrington was voted to the chair. There were also present—Sir Philip Duncombe, Bart., Capt. the Hon. E. R. Fremantle, R.N., the Rev. R. H. Pigott, Mr. Egerton Hubbard, Mr. F. Verney, Mr. John Parker, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. R. Gibbs, and Mr. G. T. De Fraine.

The Chairman said the Hon. Secretary, the Rev. R. H. Pigott, would explain the objects of this meeting, but before they proceeded further, he thought they should express their regret at the fact that their former Hon. Secretary, the Rev. Charles Lowndes, had been obliged to vacate that position, and was unable to attend that day. They wished him a speedy restoration to health; and, when a better opportunity arrived, perhaps at their next annual excursion, they would no doubt record in a more formal manner their sense of his services.

The Rev. R. H. Pigott stated that for many years this Society had been under the general management of Mr. Lowndes, and, as most of them knew, he had met with a severe accident, which had left little hope of his taking any prominent part in the Society in the future. He had asked him (the speaker) to undertake some of the work which he formerly discharged, and a short time ago a committee meeting of the Society was held, which was well attended, and he was asked to be the organizing secretary. At the same time, Mr. Williams kindly undertook to act as treasurer. He need hardly tell them that, seeing the subscriptions were chiefly in small sums of 6s. each, it entailed a great deal of work upon the Treasurer. The Society was one of long standing; it had for its President the Bishop of the Diocese, while the Lord Lieutenant of the county and nearly all the large landed proprietors were Vice-Presidents; and in its time it had done a good deal of good work. In the future its work would not be so important, because so many of the churches had been restored, but they still hoped that the Society would be useful in preventing the removal of the old landmarks, which had been often done. The Society published a very valuable jo urnal—the Bucks Archæological Records—which had gone on for many years, and formed a record of the county. It required considerable literary ability to keep it going, and Mr. Parker, a fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and a very good antiquarian, had accepted the editorship of the journal. The present meeting was called in order that these appointments might be confirmed. He asked His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to take the chair, and he regretted that he could not do so, but desired him to tell the meeting how very pleased he would be if the Society would hold their next annual meeting at Stowe, and he would leave it with them to fix a day, and he would see whether it was convenient. The Duke took a great deal of interest in the Society, and a more accurate or better antiquarian than his Grace it would be difficult to find. Mr. Pigott then asked the meeting to confirm the appointments of Mr. Williams as hon. treasurer, Mr. Parker as hon. literary secretary, Mr. Gibbs as hon. librarian and curator, and himself as hon. secretary.

Mr. Parker, in the course of some comments on the position of the

Society, expressed his anxiety to see it carried on efficiently. The present RECORDS were almost ready for publication, and he thought, in the future, they should come out annually. He hoped that gentlemen of position in the county would take a real interest in the Society. This was a very historic county, and it would be a disgrace to Buckinghamshire men if they could not keep up their Archæological Society. So far as he was concerned, he was very glad to do what he could to promote the objects of the Society, and he trusted the officers to be elected would have the support of men of education and position in the county.

The Chairman said he thought there was not a sufficiently wide knowledge of the work the Society was doing. He also drew attention to the fact that, in that room, they had the nucleus of a very valuable museum, to which objects of interest might be sent.

The appointments were then confirmed; and on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Egerton Hubbard, the Rev. Bryant Burgess and the Rev. John Wood, the late assistant honorary secretaries, were placed upon the committee.

Sir Philip Duncombe proposed that the Rev. Charles Lowndes, of Hartwell, who had for so many years conducted the affairs of the Society, and who was now incapacitated by an accident from rendering further services as their honorary secretary, be elected a vice-president.

Mr. Egerton Hubbard seconded, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. Parker then submitted several amendments to the constitution of the Society, which were discussed.

A long conversation took place as to the presidentship, it appearing that, from the rules of the Society, the Bishop of the Diocese occupied that position *ex officio*, but it was doubtful if he was aware of the fact. Ultimately, Captain Fremantle proposed the following resolution, which Sir Philip Duncombe seconded, and it was carried:—"That this meeting being informed that it is doubtful whether the Bishop of the Diocese, who is nominally the president, has ever been communicated with on the subject, or is aware of his position, his son, the Rev. C. C. Mackarness, vicar of Aylesbury, be asked to communicate with his father to ascertain whether the Bishop would consent to act as a working president of the Society; in the case of his declining to do so, that the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos be asked to accept the presidentship of the Society; and that the rule be revised accordingly."

The Rev. R. H Pigott proposed, and Mr. De Fraine seconded, the proposition, that the following gentlemen be elected members of that Society:—Mr. Springall Thompson, Major Simpson Carson, Mr. Henry Cazenove, Captain Fremantle, the Rev. A. Newcombe, the Rev. Lewin Dickson, Mr. A. Dalgleish, Captain E. H. Verney, and Captain Cullen Mansell; and they were accordingly unanimously elected.

It was resolved that, in the future, the rule as to election by ballot be strictly adhered to, and it appearing that there was no ballot box, it was decided to buy one.

In reply to a question, the hon. Treasurer stated that they had about £4 in hand, and owed some £17. There were nearly 200 members.

It was decided that any member who should be three years in arrear with his subscription be deemed to have ceased membership.

On the motion of Captain Fremantle, seconded by Mr. Williams, it was resolved that the hon. secretary be empowered to alter the rules in accordance with the resolutions.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman closed the proceedings.

RULES

OF THE

Architectural & Archæological Society

FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

(*Established Nov. 16th*, 1847.)

I. OBJECT.—That the object of this Society shall be, to promote the study of Architecture and Antiquities, by the collection of books, drawings, models, casts, brass-rubbings, notes, and local information, and by mutual instruction at meetings of the Society in the way of conversation and by reading original papers on subjects connected with its designs.

II. CONSTITUTION.—That the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries, a Treasurer, two Auditors, Honorary and Ordinary Members; of whom the Archdeacon of the County, being a Subscriber, shall be considered *ex officio* one of the Vice-Presidents; and that the remaining Vice-Presidents shall be nominated by the Committee, and with the other Officers be elected by a Majority of the Members present at an Annual Meeting of the Society; and that every candidate for admission to the Society shall be proposed and seconded at a General Meeting or at a Committee Meeting, and balloted for at the next General Meeting, one black ball in five to exclude; and that on the election of a Member, one of the Secretaries shall send him notice of it and a copy of the Rules.

III. GOVERNMENT.—That the affairs of the Society be transacted by a Committee consisting of the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurer, and Twelve Ordinary Members, elected annually at a General Meeting of the Subscribers; and that three do constitute a quorum; further, that all Rural Deans in the County, being Subscribers, be considered *ex officio* Members of the Committee, exclusive of the twelve elected; and that Members of the Committee in any neighbourhood may associate other Members of the Society with themselves for local purposes in communication with the Central Committee.

IV. FINANCES.—That each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of not less than Six Shillings, to be due on the first of January for the current year, or shall compound for the same for five years by one payment of One Pound Five Shillings, or for life by one payment of Five Pounds. And that if any Member's Subscription be in arrear for one year, he may be removed from the Society after three months' notice to him from the Treasurer, at the discretion of the Committee. Excepting that all persons holding the office of Churchwarden in any Parish of the County be placed, on the recommendation of the Clergyman of their respective Parish, and with the sanction of the Committee, on the list of Members, without payment; and also that when extraordinary talent in Architectural

or Archæological pursuits is shown by any person, it shall be competent for a majority of the Committee to elect such person an Honorary Member without Subscription.

V. Meetings.—That a General Meeting of the Society be held at least once a year, at such time or times as the Committee shall fix, of which due notice shall be given; and that each Member be allowed to introduce Visitors at all General Meetings, except during the transaction of private business.

VI. Property.—That all Books, Drawings, Papers, and other property of the Society, be kept by the Secretaries for the use of Members, subject to the regulations of the Committee, and that no Books be taken from the rooms except with the sanction of the Librarian.

VII. Rules.—That no new Rule shall be passed, and no alteration made in any existing rule, unless notice of the proposed new Rule or alteration shall have been given at the preceding General Meeting.

N.B.—The Records are only issued *annually*. All communications relating to this publication should be addressed to the Editor, whether from Members or Contributors.

Aylesbury, June, 1884.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS, 1884.

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HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.

Vice-Presidents.

The Ven. the Archdeacon of Buckingham
Sir Harry Verney, Bart., M.P.
Sir P. D. P. Duncombe, Bart.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield.
Sir Samuel Wilson
Rev. J. J. Goodall
F. D. Hibbert, Esq.
Rt. Hon. J. G. Hubbard, M.P.
C. G. Du Pré, Esq.
W. Lowndes, Esq.
E. L. Lawson, Esq.
Rev. Charles Lowndes, F.R.A.S.

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Rev. R. H. Pigott, Grendon Hall, Aylesbury
Mr. J. Parker, F.S.A., Hillside, High Wycombe

Librarian and Curator.

Mr. Robert Gibbs, Aylesbury.

Treasurer.

Mr J. Williams, Bank House, Aylesbury.

Auditors.

Mr. J. E. Bartlett
Mr. T. Horwood

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Mr. J. E. Bartlett
Rev. Bryant Burgess
Rev. R. Chilton
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Hon. T. F. Fremantle, M.P.
Rev. O. J. Grace
Mr. Egerton Hubbard
Mr. F. D. Hibbert
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Rev. A. Smith
Mr. C. Threlfall
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Rev. J. Wood

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Butterfield, W., Esq., Adam Street, Adelphi
Sir A. H. Layard

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Adams, Rev. S. T., Great Horwood
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Baynes, Mr. E. R., Stone, Aylesbury
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Brown, Mr. William, Tring
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Bull, Mr. W. B., Newport Pagnell
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Clarke, Mr. John, Haddenham
Clay, Rev. E. K., Great Kimble, Tring
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Hibbert, Mrs. F. D., Bucknell Manor, Bicester
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Hooper, Mrs., Aylesbury
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Hubbard, Right Hon. J. G., M.P., Addington Manor, Winslow
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Hussey, Mr. G. H. C., Harrow-on-the-Hill
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Long, Rev. D., Beachampton, Stony Stratford
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Lowndes, Mr. W., The Bury, Chesham
Lowndes, Mr. W. L., Linley Hall, Broseley, Salop
Lucas, Mr. T., High Wycombe
Mair, Mr. Hugh, Nightingale, Amersham
Malaher, Rev. W. E., Weston Turville Rectory, Tring
Maunsell, Capt. C. Cullen, The Lodge, Great Brickhill
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Meara, Rev. H. G. J., Stewkley
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Oxford, Right Rev. Lord Bishop of, Cuddesdon Palace
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PRETYMAN, Rev. J. R., Richmond Lodge, Bournemouth
PRICE, Rev. J. M., Cuddington, Aylesbury
PUTTICK, Mr. R., High Wycombe
RALPH, Rev. H. F. W., The Sisters, Clapham Common
RANDALL, Ven. Archdeacon J. L., Mixbury Rectory, Brackley
RIDLEY, Rev. C., Aylesbury
RISLEY, Rev. W. C., Shalstone, Buckingham
RUTLAND, Mr. J., The Gables, Taplow
SALTER, Mr. S., 28, Woburn Place, Russell Square, W.C.
SANDARS, Mr. S., M.A., The Grove, Chalfont St. Giles.
SCOTT-MURRAY, Mr. C. A., Danesfield House, Medmenham
SCRIVENER, Mr. A. P., Weston Turville, Tring
SMALL, Mr. HENRY, Claydon Camp, Winslow
SMEATHMAN, Mr. L., Hemel Hempstead
SMITH, Rev. A., Wendover
SMITH, Rev. E. L., Chetwode, Buckingham
SNEATH, Rev. T. A., Bledlow
STOWE, Mr. A., Castle House, Petersfield, Hants
STRETCH, Rev. H., Ludgershall Rectory
SUTTON, Mr. W. L., Northchurch, Berkhampstead
TARVER, Rev. J., Filgrave Rectory, Newport Pagnell
TAYLOR, Mr. ALGERNON, Haddenham, Thame
TAYLOR, Mr. F. J., Newport Pagnell
TAYLOR, Mr. T., Newport Pagnell
TAYLOR, Mr. W. F., Bierton
THOMPSON, Mr. SPRINGALL, Bramcote, Slough
THRELFALL, Mr. C., Manor House, Aylesbury
TOOVEY, Mr. J., Burnham Abbey, Slough
TURNER, Mr. JOHN, Aylesbury.
VERNEY, Capt. E. H., R.N., Rhyanva, Bangor
VERNEY, Sir HARRY, Bart., M.P., Claydon House, Winslow
VERNON, Mr. A., High Wycombe
WARD, Mr. W., Aylesbury
WAY, Mr. B. R. W., Denham Place, Uxbridge
WELLER, Mr. G., The Plantation, Amersham
WELLER, Mrs., The Plantation, Amersham
WELLS, Rev. H. M., Prestwood, Great Missenden
WESTFIELD, Mr. F. J., High Wycombe
WETHERED, Mr. L. W., Stubbings House, Maidenhead
WETHERED, Mr. O. P., Marlow
WETHERED, Mr. T. O., Seymour Court, Marlow
WHIGHAM, Mr. J., 52, Cromwell Road, S.W.
WILD, Mr. F., Chalfont St. Giles, Slough
WILES, Rev. G. E., Calverton Rectory, Stony Stratford
WILLIAMS, Mr. J., Aylesbury
WILLIAMS, Rev. T., Aston Clinton
WILLIAMS, Rev. T. J., Waddesdon, Aylesbury
WILSON, Sir SAMUEL, Hughenden Manor, High Wycombe
WOOD, Rev. JOHN, Wolverton
WYATT, Rev. C. F., Broughton, Banbury
YOUNG, Mr. JAMES, Aylesbury

THE HISTORY OF STOWE.

By His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, the President of the Society.

(From the Report taken of the Address on its delivery, as corrected.)

His Grace commenced by observing that, on the visit of the Bucks Archæological Society to Stowe, the first thing he had to do was to say how glad he was that the Society had chosen to visit the place and honour him with their company. It was a great pleasure to receive them, and to assist at all times in anything which, like the proceedings of the Archæological Society, tended to throw light upon the past history of their county and of their parishes, which, if not so recorded, would very soon fade away, and many interesting matters would thus be forgotten. Curiously enough, it had struck him very much of late years how persons who had written what were considered to be carefully-compiled county histories, and how those who ought to have assisted in the preserving of every record of the past—viz., the compilers of the Ordnance Survey—had, from indifference, carelessness, or some other cause, really contributed to throw by and overlay records of past history with newly-invented names of places, and very often with utter indifference to the interesting ancient monuments in churches, giving more attention to tablets and monuments of the present century than to those of centuries ago. That was a curious fact; but they would see it exemplified in one of their county histories, which was prepared, as he thought, with considerable care and labour—viz., Lipscombe's—yet in it he found interesting monuments in many of our parish churches and records entirely ignored. As regards the Ordnance Survey, he was surprised and grieved when he came home from India—the Survey having been completed during his absence—to find how entirely they had ignored, or failed to ascertain, the old traditional names of farms and fields and lands, and had solved all their difficulties by simply asking who was the tenant of the premises, and then putting the place down as "So-and-So's" farm. In one case they had ignored a name which

dated back at least to 1300; and that was an instance in which the old name was left out, and for it substituted that of, possibly, the yearly tenant. This was a great misfortune, and he had alluded to it because it was a point to which archæologists should give their attention, especially when it was remembered that these Surveys were likely to be looked upon as authentic records of the times in which they were made. It was a great pity that they should be so inaccurate.

It might be interesting to some of them to hear a few notes which he had put together concerning Stowe, the parish, antiquities, and the neighbourhood. The parish of Stowe, formerly called Stowe Langport, was, more anciently still, in the time of the Normans, recorded as two distinct parishes—viz., Dadford and Stowe, and the manor of Lamport, which formed one-third of the combined parishes, and was also separately surveyed in Domesday Book. The parishes now comprised the village of Dadford with the hamlet of Lamport, on the eastern side, and on the western side the hamlet (formerly an extra-parochial place) of Boycott. This was now merged into the county of Bucks, but was formerly, until, in fact, dealt with by the Reform Act for electoral purposes, an island of Oxfordshire. This hamlet of Boycott was also connected with the extra-parochial place of Lufflield, which lies on the N.E. of the parish. There was originally in this hamlet the Chapel of St. John, of which, however, all traces have been lost. All they know of it was derived from maps or traditions, and an entry in the Records of Oseney Abbey, which set forth that a monk was sent from the Priory of Lufflield to do duty at Boycott. That reminded him of what he had already said with respect to the county histories, because Lipscombe stated that Boycott was a depopulated hamlet. He had taken some trouble to ascertain the number of dwellings in the place, and found that for a couple of centuries there were only three, while there were now nine. At one time, about two centuries back, there seemed to have been ten, and yet Lipscombe put it down as a depopulated hamlet altogether. The village of Stowe, formerly extending on the north and south of the church, and on the east side of the present lawn, was entirely removed during the laying out of the grounds

by Lord Cobham, the hamlet of Dadford being materially increased, apparently for the reception of the workmen who were displaced. The church, however, remained in its ancient place, with the churchyard surrounding it, but the latter had been recently closed for burials, and a new churchyard formed near the village.

The gardens of Stowe, as they were called, were the creation of Lord Cobham in 1720-40, and still retained the general features then given. Their laying out was mainly arranged by Lancelot Browne, who remained there for some twelve or fourteen years in charge. They were completed by a person named Woodward, who lived to a great age in Buckingham. Although minor changes had at times been made, according to the changing ideas of the times, such as the conversion of straight alleys into serpentine walks, and rounding off the formal angles of the various waters, and the formation of new belts of plantation—many of which changes had probably been no improvement on the original design—at the present time the principal walks followed the course originally traced out. The principal buildings also remained, although some of the buildings in the grounds were removed at an early date, while others had succumbed to the effects of weather acting on faulty material. The Gothic temple built of an iron sandstone was one of the earliest of the buildings erected. It contained in its windows some curious fragments of old stained glass, brought by Lord Cobham, with other relics, from the Low Countries, during the Marlborough campaign. The building was originally dedicated "Libertati Majorum" —to the liberty enjoyed by our ancestors; but why or wherefore they did not know. Within the first fifteen years of that dedication the inscribed stone was removed, and all reference to the subject was dropped. Whether it was that Lord Cobham, towards the close of his life, thought that liberty to others was not quite so admirable a thing to give, or our ancestors had gained too much from their liberties, and desired not to put them forward again, they did not know, but neither in the family letters or elsewhere was there any record whatever of the removal of this dedication stone, which they knew was originally placed there. The stone, however, was found when he (the speaker) was a boy; in fact, he turned it out from amongst a

lot of rubbish. They still had the stone, which was quietly taken away without beat of drum. Another very early feature of the place—but, probably, from not being a building, not much noticed in the earlier records—was the group of the Seven Saxon Deities, stone figures, carved by Rysbrack, placed in a yew-tree grove in the gardens, when originally formed. The two pavilions on the south side of the water, and also the temples of Venus and Bacchus, were originally adorned with paintings of great artistic merit, according to the accounts left by others. They had entirely faded away, but, so far as they could judge, many of the subjects appeared to have been such as to leave little cause to regret their loss. Some monuments had been subsequently added, to record different family events or royal visits. The Queen's Temple, described as the Lady's Temple till the recovery of George III. from his illness in 1789, contained, inserted in the floor, a small Roman pavement, found in the excavation of a Roman villa at Foscott in 1840, and transferred for safety to this place. In the grove of the Saxon deities there was also, in the centre, the floor of a barrow opened at Thornborough some forty years ago. The house, in its present form, and with its existing south façade, was completed by Lord Temple about 1760 to 1780. The original house of the Temples, built somewhere, as far as could be ascertained, about 1520, remained practically unchanged until early in the eighteenth century. It was a centre block, with two detached wings, in a straight line, the centre building having buttresses or piers, with rustic cones and a high-pitched roof. These three buildings formed the nucleus of the present house, and the greater part of the walls remain enclosed in the present structure, notwithstanding all the various changes which had been made in the external as well as the internal arrangements of the house. The first step in the gradual development seemed to have been to unite the wings with the centre by the structure now the State Gallery, and the corresponding building which contained the library. The stairs of the south entrance, originally straight, were formed into two flights, returning parallel with the building. The low screen walls, which, from the north side, then surrounded the stable and farmyards on the east side, and the brew-

house, laundry, and woodyard, on the west side, were raised on their original base, first into walls with arched angles, and afterwards they were used as the basis of the existing colonnades. The next step was one of considerable change. The two wings were raised to nearly their present height, the plan being to raise them above the centre, and make them the prominent feature. Before, however, that plan was completed it was modified; the wings were flattened at the tops, and the house was elevated by raising the old walls so as to include the windows of the roof, and an open parapet was placed round on both the north and south sides.

The house remained so during Lord Cobham's time, but some time afterwards, when Lord Temple succeeded to the property, he conceived the idea of forming the grand entrance hall, and throwing the steps into a large uniform flight with a large portico. He seemed to have taken great interest and paid much attention to the work, for there were still preserved sketches in his own hand, and emendations upon the architect's plans. He employed several architects to carry out his ideas, and apparently gave the internal arrangements to one and the external to another. He completed between the years 1760-80 the present south façade to the house as it now stands. During the progress of the works he made one material alteration in the architect's plans, namely, the present portico was designed by him to be open at the two ends as well as from the house, the front being simply built against the old wall of the house. There was a correspondence which showed that the idea of this alteration struck him constantly. He wrote to the architect to know whether there would be any material difficulty in taking down the two remaining walls of the house and bringing it forward half the width of the portico, lengthening the music-room, drawing-room, and portico-screen; and with these modifications he completed in 1780 the present suite of rooms and the south façade. Gazing from those steps down the wide grass lawn, if they could imagine close-trimmed formal yew hedges, some ten feet high, cut and trimmed quite flat, enclosing a square pasture the width of those steps, and reaching as far as the wire fence, with a narrow alley also bounded by the yew edges, reaching from the centre half-way down the

present lawn, they could realize the gardens of Stowe as they appeared in the past. Then they might imagine archways pierced through the yew hedges, and in each opening a life-size figure of a nymph, faun, or one of the many deities of the heathen mythology—a tall obelisk draped with a veil of falling water streaming from its summit, occupying the central line of the narrow yew-hedged alley—and they would see in the mind's eye the Stowe gardens of the time of Lord Cobham's youth. The yews so remained for about half his life, but when his work became altered by the gradual growth of the trees he began to see the necessity of cutting wider and wider the opening line. He threw it back to within about twenty-five yards of the lime tree on the south side, and then, about 1800, Lord Temple cut away the rest of the shrubs to what was called "the church-elm." So far, with regard to the house and grounds. As they traced back to past centuries in a parish, they naturally turned to the ecclesiastical structures, and they found in the immediate neighbourhood of Stowe, traces of Luffield Priory and of Biddlesden Abbey. Of the former a considerable fragment of crumbling wall existed within his own memory, but had now almost entirely disappeared. The remains as they stood in the present century were recorded by a sketch in Lord Grenville's illustrated copy of Lyson's history, as also was the then existing crypt of Biddlesden, which was now lost. The church tower of Stowe still bore, in a niche on the western face, remains of a stone crucifix. It had been defaced with whitewash and plaster, and the lower part of the cross appeared to have fallen in since 1801. The only way to account for its not having been destroyed would be that some zealous churchwarden had filled up the niche with plaster. The brackets, which probably contained figures of saints, were still there, but the figures were gone. In the chancel there were several old brasses (1592 being the date of the oldest), and the Penistone monument, which formed the family seat, was curious and well worth seeing. This church also afforded an instance of the carelessness or indifference of those who undertook to write county histories, for Lipscombe, in his elaborate History of Bucks, while recounting the tablets of the present century, ignored as well the brasses, dating in 1592, as the fine Penistone

monument. In the parish itself there was no record or any trace of the Roman occupation; but at Foscott, somewhat north of the Buckingham and Stony Stratford road, there was an extensive Roman villa, with its baths supplied by spring water, laid on through large leaden pipes, and a large walled tank in front of the villa, with an oak pile foot-bridge across it about four and a half feet wide, and where, also, in 1837-8, was found a good specimen of a tesselated pavement, unfortunately lost by injudicious attempts at removal at a bad season of the year. The removal was left to the workmen, and nothing a foot square of it was brought home. The only record of it was a drawing which the speaker made of it when a boy. A smaller tesselated pavement was found in 1839-40, which was damaged only in one portion, and he was fortunate to remove this and place it in the centre of the Queen's Temple. In the gardens there were also found a specimen of the tile flues with which the rooms were heated, fragments of pottery, stone pillars, and one roofing tile of the old villa; all these objects were preserved in the Stowe museum. On the opposite side of the river, in the parish of Thornborough, were two barrows of considerable size, which were opened by the Duke's father in 1840. One was found to have been before cut through, and no relics except loose stones, evidently not in their original position, were discovered. In the other barrow a floor of rough stone was found about two feet below the level surface of the adjoining ground, on which were fragments of glass vessels, several of them with ashes inside them, and fragments of pottery, and in some cases the ashes had not been so completely calcined but fragments of bones could be discovered, pronounced to be human bones; also, a small gold ornament, a massive gold ring, together with some traces of iron weapons, were found. The vessels and the bones and ashes appeared to have been originally protected by an oaken plank, and inclined stones, which had subsided from the weight of the earth, and had crushed the frail vessels they were intended to protect. Investigation at the time led to the belief that the barrow was probably the burial place of Togodumnus, killed in battle with the Romans, on the banks of the Ouse, as recorded in Tacitus. The golden ornaments were in the British Museum; while the floor

having been removed with care, stone by stone, was replaced in its exact order and aspect in the grove of the Saxon deities, where it might still be seen. With these memorials of the struggles between the Saxon dwellers and the Roman invaders, their archæological traces ceased. They had nothing to show, whether the battles, which were fought in and about Bernewood Forest, were struggles with the Danes and the British, nor had they any evidences of the struggles with the Roman invaders of this island, nor had any discoveries been made of extensive barrows, such as had been made in other parts of the county, although their gravel pits occasionally yielded specimens of flint implements, giving evidences of human occupation at a far earlier date. One distinct specimen was in a glass case in the museum, accompanied by a specimen which appeared to have become subsequently encrusted over with a calcareous deposit. Both of these specimens were found by the speaker in the gravel pits in the grounds. Amongst the articles worthy of notice in an antiquarian point of view in the mansion at Stowe, the speaker mentioned a very ancient painting, of probably the second century, on wood, from Syracuse; the antique vase and statue of Venus in the north hall; in the library there was a curious antique marble of the swan bearing the *testudo* or lyre (which appeared to have had some relation to the connection between the swan when dying and music). In the orangery there was a fine specimen of the sacred bull of the Hindoos, which the speaker dug up from near the side of a river in the Bellary district of Madras, a fine carving of Rama, and a fragment of a procession of elephants—all these carvings being in hard granite or gneiss. The bull was deemed by those who have studied the antiquities of India to be a relic dating 1200 years back. In the museum room was the capital of one of the columns of the basement of the church—the original church, in fact—in which St. Paul preached, which was brought home by the speaker's grandfather, having been found by him during the repair of the modern church, in the course of which the crypt of the ancient one had been discovered. There was also a small figure of Buddha found by the speaker in India; an ancient stone hammer from Cornwall; two specimens of flint instruments from the gravel pits of Stowe; a roof-

ing tile, and some fragments of pottery and stone from the Roman Villa of Foscott. More intimately connected with the archæology of the county might be classed the exchequer chest in the ante-library, one of those in which, while the national loan accounts were kept by tallies, the tallies were stored under the custody of the teller of the exchequer, a practice which the rising generation would hardly credit as having existed far into the present century. In the chapel, over the Communion rails, hung the colours borne to France by the 1st Provisional Battalion of Militia, entirely formed of volunteers and mainly from this county, under the command of the Marquis of Buckingham. In the state bedroom was the old canopied state bed in which had slept many honoured and royal guests, the last being Her Majesty Queen Victoria. In the state drawing-room were specimens of the works of Rembrandt, Titian, Corregio, Vandyke, Rubens, and Albert Durer. He had also left in the library for inspection the illustrated edition of Lyson's history, and the roll of the *posse comitatus* of the county. Those who regarded such a body as something of a myth would be interested in seeing with what extreme minuteness every man, horse and cart, were returned as being available for the purposes of a reserved army. The roll was that of 1798. He had also placed there for inspection the Quarter Sessions roll, with the declaration required to be taken against transubstantiation on the accession of a sovereign, that being the one taken on the accession of George I.

THE TERRITORIAL, CORPORATE, AND LOCAL ARMORY OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

By Henry Gough, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

In this article is brought together all that can be found of the territorial, corporate, and local armory of the county, including, amongst other things, the bearings of the Earls, Marquises, and Dukes, who have derived their titles from the county; and the insignia of the Towns, Monasteries, and other Corporations within the same. With these are mentioned, under the several parishes or places, the Hospitals, Guilds, Schools, and other institutions, which may possibly have had either armorial devices or common seals, although such arms or seals may not have been observed. Where no corporate devices have been found, the arms of founders are generally given.

The Kingdom of Mercia.

Buckinghamshire was included in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia. For each of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy (or Octarchy) armorial devices were invented in the middle ages. To the Kings of Mercia, or at least to the Christian Kings, were attributed the following

Arms: *Azure, a saltire argent.*

The saltire is well known as St. Andrew's Cross. There was, from an early period, a chapel of St. Andrew attached to the Abbey of St. Alban; and it is perhaps not an unlikely conjecture that from this connection the saltire—a golden saltire in an azure field—became the ensign of St. Alban's Abbey. The founder of this great minster was Offa, King of Mercia; and thus, in all probability, the saltire came to be attributed, with a change of tincture, to him and to his race.

Buckinghamshire.

The white swan, with expanded wings, and ducally gorged and chained, may be regarded as the county

symbol. It is a badge or cognizance, which the house of Stafford, formerly Dukes of Buckingham, inherited from remote antiquity. The subject is discussed at length in a paper on "The Swan of Buckingham," by the present writer, printed in RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, vol. iii., pp. 249-270. Counties have no arms, and it is an error to regard the insignia of the borough of Buckingham as belonging to the shire; but to look upon the swan as the county emblem is quite permissible.

THE EARLS, MARQUISES, AND DUKES OF THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM, OR BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Arms of the Families which have borne these titles.

GIFFARD. (E. 1070-1164.) *Gules, three lions passant argent, armed and langued azure.*

1. Walter Giffard, Lord of Longueville, in Normandy, accompanied the Conqueror to England, and obtained from him, in 1070, the earldom of Buckingham. He died about 1085.

2. Walter Giffard, his son and heir, died in 1102. (See "The Conqueror and his Companions," by J. R. Planché, Somerset Herald, vol. i., pp. 160-166. London: 1874. 8vo. By less accurate writers these two Earls are confounded.)

3. Walter Giffard, son and heir, died in 1164, *s.p.*

The arms above described were borne by some Giffards at a later period. They are commonly attributed, but without authority, to the Earls of Buckingham.

CLARE. (E. 1164-76.) *Or, three chevronels gules, a label of five points azure.*

Richard de Clare, called Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, being descended from Rohais, daughter of the 1st Earl, styled himself Earl of Buckingham. He died in 1176, *s.p.m.*

PLANTAGENET. (E. 1377-99.) *France ancient and England quarterly, within a border argent.*

1. Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of K. Edward III., was created Earl of Buckingham, 1377; K.G., 1380; Duke of Gloucester, 1385; murdered at Calais, in September, 1397.

2. Humphrey, his son, Duke of Gloucester, etc., was detained a prisoner in Ireland until the death of K. Richard II. Immediately after his release he died of the plague, at Chester, 1399, under age, and *s.p.*

STAFFORD. (E. 1399. D. 1444-1521.) The first of this line bore *Quarterly*: 1 *and* 4, *Woodstock* (as above); 2 *and* 3, *Stafford*, viz., *Or, a chevron gules.* On 18th February, 1474, the 2nd Duke obtained permission to bear *Woodstock* alone. This was borne latterly* with only three fleurs-de-lis in the arms of France, as on the stall-plate of the 3rd Duke, on which *Woodstock* is the first of four quarters.

1. Humphrey Stafford, 4th Earl of Stafford, being son and heir of Anne, sister and heir of the last Duke of Gloucester, was styled Earl of Buckingham. K.G., 1429; created Duke of Buckingham, 1444; Lord High Constable; slain at Northampton, 1460.

2. Henry Stafford, grandson and heir, succeeded, aged 4; K.G., 1474; made hereditary Lord High Constable of England, 1483; beheaded the same year.

3. Edward Stafford, son and heir, was restored 1486; K.G., 1495; beheaded, 1521.

VILLIERS. (E. 1616. M. 1618. D. 1623-87.) *Argent, on a cross gules, five escallops or; in the first quarter, a martlet sable, for difference.*

1. Sir George Villiers, K.G., created Baron of Whaddon† and Viscount Villiers, 27th August, 1616; Earl of

* Henry IV. made the change about 1403, and it was ere long adopted by other branches of the Royal Family.

† On 12th August, 1616, Sir Francis Bacon writes thus to Sir G. Villiers:—"I have sent now your patent of creation of Lord Bletchly of Bletchly, and of Viscount Villirs. Bletchly is your own, and I liked the sound of the name better than Whaddon; but the name will be hid, for you will be called Viscount Villirs." ("Cabala," p. 57, 3rd ed.) Nevertheless, the name of Whaddon was chosen for the barony. (Nicolas, "Peerage," ed. Courthope.)

Buckingham, 1st January, 1617—18; Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Coventry, 18th May, 1623; assassinated, 1628. (His mother, Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, and widow of Sir George Villiers, was created Countess of Buckingham for life, 1st July, 1618, and died in 1632.)

2. George Villiers, son and heir; K.G., 1649; died 1687.

SHEFFIELD. (D. 1703-1735.) *Argent, a chevron between three garbes gules.*

1. John Sheffield, Marquess of Normanby, K.G.; created Duke of the County of Buckingham and of Normanby, 24th March, 1702-3; died 1720.

2. Edmund Sheffield, son and heir; died 1735, a minor and *s.p.*

HOBART. (E. 1746, to the present time.) *Sable, a star of eight points or, between two flaunches ermine.*

1. John Hobart, 1st Baron Hobart, K.B.; created Earl of Buckinghamshire, 5th September, 1746; died 1756. Ancestor of the 6th and present Earl.*

AMERSHAM, or AGMONDESHAM.

Borough. This town sent two burgesses to Parliament from 28 Edward I. until 2 Edward II., and again from 21 James I. until 1832. No arms are recorded.

Almshouses. Founded by Sir William Drake, Bart., 1617.

Arms of the founder: *Argent, a wyvern, wings displayed, and tail nowed, gules; the baronet's badge upon a canton.*†

School. Founded by Dr. Robert Chaloner, rector, who died 1621.

AYLESBURY.

Borough. Incorporated by Q. Mary, 1554; but the charter was soon lost. The town has sent two burgesses to Parliament since 1554. No arms on record.

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* The titles of Marquis and Duke of Buckingham in the family of Grenville are derived from the *town* of Buckingham.

† In "R. B.," vol. ii., p. 346, these arms are described as having two mullets in chief, which must be an error.

Grey Friars. Founded by James Boteler, Earl of Ormonde, 1387.

Arms of the founder: *Or, a chief indented* (or *dancette*) *azure.*

Hospital of St. John, for infirm poor.

Hospital of St. Leonard, for lepers, or other sick persons. This, as well as the hospital before mentioned, had gone to decay before 1360.

Brotherhood of St. Mary. Founded by John Singleton and others, 1425.

School. Founded by Sir Henry Lee, K.G., about 1600.

Arms of the founder: *Argent, a fess between three crescents sable.* (See "R. B.", vol. iii., p. 210, etc.)

Beachampton.

School. Founded by William Elmer, 1652.

Biddlesden, or Bittlesden.

Abbey, of the Cistercian Order. Founded by Ernald de Bosco, or Boys, 1147.

Arms: *Argent, two bars and a canton gules.* Attributed to "Ernaud de Boys" in several ancient rolls.

Blechley.

Fenny-Stratford.

Hospital. Founded before 1240.

Brotherhood of St. Margaret and St. Katharine. Founded by Roger Hebbes, John Hebbes, and others, 1494.

Water-Eaton.

The manor was held, from the time of Henry III., by the family of Grey, by grand serjeanty, namely, by the service of keeping a ger-falcon for the King's use. The crest of the Lords Grey of Wilton had allusion to this tenure. (Blount's "Tenures," p. 138, ed. 1679.) The crest, as borne by Arthur, 14th Lord Grey (1572-93), was, *Upon a sinister glove, lying fesswise, argent, a falcon rising or, encircled with a branch of honeysuckle, proper.*

Bradwell.

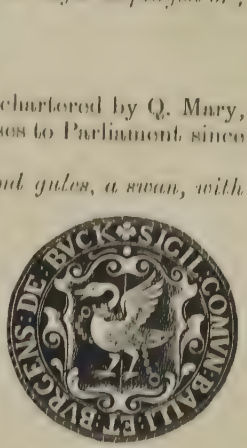
Priory, of the Benedictine Order. Founded by Manfelin, Baron of Wolverton, about 1155. Originally a cell to Luffield. Dissolved, 1526.

Arms attributed to the founder: *Or, on a chief gules, two dexter hands argent.* ("Mayndlyn" — Glover's Ordinary, in Berry.) It is also said that the Barons of Wolverton bore, *Azure, an eagle displayed or; a bendlet gules.*

Buckingham.

Borough. Of great antiquity; chartered by Q. Mary, 1554. It has returned two burgesses to Parliament since 36 Henry VIII.

Arms: *Party per pale, sable and gules, a swan, with expanded wings, argent, ducally gorged or.* Confirmed to the Borough, 1566, by William Harvey, Clarenceux. The parted field consists of the livery colours of the house of Stafford, and the swan is a badge which that family inherited, as already mentioned. On the corporation seal the swan has a chain, and the arms are frequently so drawn, but, as it seems, without authority.



Mercers' Company.
Tanners' Company.
Butchers' Company.
Merchant Taylors' Company.

These four Companies (incorporated by the charter of Q. Mary, 1554) are mentioned by Messrs. Lysons. In their time, early in the present century, it was necessary for every freeman of the town to belong to one of them. Probably their seals still exist. It was usual for such provincial trading guilds to bear armorial ensigns identical with, or resembling, those of the corresponding Companies in London; but this usage does not seem to have been officially recognized. The tokens of local tradesmen would perhaps show what was the practice in this respect at Buckingham.

Hospital of St. Lawrence. This existed as early as 1312. Christ's Hospital is supposed to occupy its site.

Barton's Hospital. Founded by John Barton, 1431.

Christ's Hospital. Founded by Q. Elizabeth, 1597.
Arms of the foundress: *France and England quarterly.*
Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, or *of the Holy Trinity and our Lady.* Perhaps identical with the
Brotherhood of St. Rumbold.
School. Founded by K. Edward VI., 1548.
Arms of the founder: *France and England quarterly.*

Burnham.

Abbey, of Austin nuns. Founded by Richard, K. of the Romans and E. of Cornwall, 1265.

Arms: *Sable, on a chief argent, three lozenges conjoined fesswise gules.* These are on the seal, attached to the deed of surrender, 1539—of course without tinctures. They are the arms of Sir John de Molyns, a benefactor, about 1338, who was the favourite knight of William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, K.G. In a roll, t. Edw. III., his arms are blazoned thus:—"De sable, une cheif des armes de Monsire William de Montagu, Counte de Sarum, d'argent trois fucelles gules." They appear also on his seal, 19 Edw. III. (Montagu's "Guide," p. 40), on which the chief occupies more than half the shield, and is nearly filled by the fusils or lozenges. Two variations of the arms are mentioned, but they are both erroneous:—(1) *Gules on a chief argent, three lozenges of the field;* which is said to have been formerly in stained glass in Burnham Church; and (2) *Or, on a chief argent, three lozenges gules;* which, though given by B. Willis, is false heraldry. (See "R.B." vol. v., pp. 49, 50.) The arms of Richard, K. of the Romans, had, it seems, been previously adopted by the Abbey of Hales, Gloucestershire.

Chesham.

Weedon's Almshouse. Founded by Thomas Weedon, who died 1624.

Chetwode.

Priory, of Austin canons. Founded by Sir Ralph de Norwich (or Sir Ralph de Chetwode *), 1244. In 1460,

* See the Chetwode evidences, "Miscellanea Gen. et Her.," series ii., vol. i., p. 56.

it was dissolved, on account of its poverty, and annexed to the Abbey of Notley.

Crendon, or Long Crendon.

Abbey of Notley, or *Crendon Park*. A house of canons of the Order of St. Augustine, stated to have been founded by Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, and Ermengarde his wife, 1162. (Ermengarde Flaitel appears to have been the wife of the first Walter Giffard, who died about 1085. Planché, p. 166.)

Arms of the founder: see above.

The Abbey was afterwards under the patronage of the Bohuns and the Staffords.

Seals. Three seals of this monastery are engraved in Lipscomb's "History." On one of them are shields of Bohun, Stafford, and Mareschal.

Eton.

College. Founded by K. Henry VI., 1441.

Arms: *Sable, three lilies slipped argent; a chief per pale azure and gules; on the former a fleur-de-lis or; on the latter a lion of England.*

This agrees with the grant by the King himself, dated at Westminster, 1 Jan., *anno regni* 27 (*i.e.* 1448-9), and printed in Bentley's "Excerpta Historica," 1831, pp. 47-49. The College is said to be in possession of an earlier grant, dated 22 Hen. VI., in which the arms are somewhat different. See Lyte's "History of Eton College," 1875, pp. 52, 53; and "R. B," vol. i., p. 226. Also Sperling's "Church Walks in Middlesex," 1849, p. 88. The grant of arms by Henry VI. to King's College, Cambridge, 1 Jan., 1448-9 ("Exc. Hist.," p. 362), should be compared with the above. The whole subject is a very curious one, but there is not room for its discussion in this place.

Hogshaw, with Fulbrook.

Hospital, or *Preceptory*, of the Order of St. John. (See "The Hospitallers in England," pp. 68, etc.; Camden Society, 1857.)

The banner of these knights was originally *Gules, a*

*cross formée throughout, argent.** At a later period the cross was of the ordinary form. It occurs also in a shield, and the knights bore it above their own arms, on a chief. (St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, 1504.)

Ivinghoe.

St. Margaret's, or Muresley.

Priory, of Benedictine nuns. Founded in the XIIth century.

Arms: *Gules, a dragon . . . , pierced in the back with a sword . . . , in his mouth a crucifix . . . .* Mentioned by B. Willis, as remaining in his time in a window. (Todd, "Ashridge," p. 21, n.) This is evidently a symbol of the Virgin Martyr of Antioch, who is commonly represented as piercing a dragon through the mouth, with the sharp end of a long cross. The "sword" here mentioned is probably the point of the cross.

Seals. The common seal is attached to a charter dated 1325, in the Harleian collection. A seal of the Prioress, of the latter part of the fourteenth century, is circular, rather more than ⅗ths of an inch in diameter; the device is a crowned female bust, full-faced (possibly representing St. Margaret), and the legend Sigillum : p'oriſſe : de : ivingho : ("Arch. Journal," vol. xiii., p. 290. "R. B.," vol. i., p. 267.)

Langley-Marish.

Kederminster's Almshouses. Founded by Sir John Kederminster, 1649.

Arms of the founder: *Azure, two chevronels or, between three bezants.*

Seymour's Almshouses. Founded by Henry Seymour, Esq., 1679.

Arms of the founder: As the Duke of Somerset's, *with a crescent, in the fess point, for difference.*

Lathbury.

School. Founded by Anthony Cave, Esq., of Chicheley, who died 1558. Pulled down 1698, the endowment having been lost.

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* "Le auntient" (another copy, "Le baucent") del Hospitall, gules "vn croix formy d'argent." Roll of Arms, cent. XIII.

Arms of the founder: *Azure, fretty argent, with a crescent for difference.*

Lavendon.

Abbey, of the Premonstratensian Order. Founded by John de Bidun, in the reign of Henry II.

Arms of the founder, or his posterity: *Chequy argent and gules, on a fess azure, three round buckles or.*

Linford (Great).

Prichard's Almshouses. Founded by Sir William Prichard, an alderman of London, who was Lord Mayor in 1683, and died in 1704-5. See his funeral certificate, etc., in "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," N.S., vol. i., p. 351.

Arms of the founder: *Ermine, a lion rampant sable, a border azure.* (Called in question by Le Neve. See "Knights," p. 280, Harl. Soc., 1873.)

Ludgershall.

Hospital. Founded through a gift of K. Henry II. to the Hospital of Santingfield, in Picardy. As an alien house, it was dissolved in the time of Henry V., and given by Henry VI. to King's College, Cambridge.

Luffield.

Co. Buckingham and Northampton—extra-parochial. By Statute 7 and 8 Vict., cap. 61, the site was annexed to Northamptonshire.

Priory, of the Benedictine Order. Founded by Robert, Earl of Leicester, 24 Hen. I.; suppressed, 1494.

Arms of the founder: *Gules, a cinquefoil pierced, ermine.*

Seal. One is engraved in Lysons, "Magna Britannia," vol. i., pl. opp. p. 424.

Marlow (Great).

Borough. This town sent two burgesses to Parliament from 1299 to 1308, and again from 1622. No arms are mentioned.

School. Founded by Sir William Borlase, 1624.

Arms of the founder: *Ermine, on a bend sable, two cubit-arms proper, vested argent, issuing from clouds of the 3rd, rending a horse-shoe of the 4th.* Some variations of these arms occur. In a very quaint representation, t. Hen. VIII., the clouds are nebuly, gold and blue, and have rays proceeding from them on both sides of the cubit-arms. ("Genealogist," N.S., vol. ii., p. 1.)

Brinkhurst's Almshouses. Founded by John Brinkhurst, 1608.

Marlow (Little).

Priory, of Benedictine nuns. Founded probably before the reign of John. Dissolved, 1537.

Seal. One used in 1444 is described in "R. B.," vol. iv., p. 72.

Medmenham.

Abbey, of the Cistercian Order. Founded by Hugh de Bolebec, as a cell to the Abbey of Woburn, Beds (which he also founded), before 1200.

Arms of the founder, as quartered by his descendants, the Veres, Earls of Oxford: *Vert, a lion rampant, argent, vulned on the shoulder gules.* But according to Glover's Roll, t. Hen. III., No. 170, he bore *Vert, a lion rampant ermine.*

Missenden (Great).

Abbey, of Austin canons. Founded, according to one authority, by the Doyley family, 1133; according to another, by Sir William de Missenden, 1293. His gift was probably an augmentation.

Arms: *Ermine, two bars wavy sable; over all a crosier in bend or.* (Tanner, "Notitia Monastica.")

Another: . . . *three bars wavy* . . . *; over all a crosier in pale, or.**

Seals. Two are mentioned by Lipscomb.

* Perhaps the arms of Samford, or Sanford, *Azure, three bars wavy argent,* with the crosier added. Another bearing is ascribed to this Monastery in Burke's "General Armory," 1878 (under "Missenden"), but erroneously. It is, in fact, the personal coat of John Fox, Abbot of Missenden in 1528, and it is more correctly blazoned in the same book, under "Fox."

NEWPORT-PAGNELL.

Hospital of St. Margaret. } These two existed in
The New Hospital. } 1240, but there do not seem to be any later accounts of them.

Hospital of St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist. Founded by John de Somery, in the reign of Edward I., and refounded by Q. Anne of Denmark, consort of K. James I.

Arms of Somery: *Or, two lions passant azure.*

Arms of Q. Anne: Those of K. James, impaling the very complicated arms of Denmark, etc., which are described in Boutell's "Heraldry," p. 310, 3rd ed., 1864.

Seal: not armorial.

Revis's Almshouses. Founded by John Revis, 1763.

TICKFORD.

Priory, of Cluniac monks. Given by Fulke Paynell to the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, in the reign of William Rufus. It was seized by Edward III. as an alien Priory, but restored by Henry IV., and made subject to the Priory of the Holy Trinity at York. Mr. Stapleton's very elaborate article on the latter monastery, in the York volume of the Archæological Institute, 1847, contains much information relating to the family of Paganel. Tickford Priory was suppressed in 1525.

NEWTON-LONGUEVILLE.

Priory, of Cluniac monks. Given by Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, to the Abbey of St. Faith, at Longueville, in Normandy, in the reign of Henry I. It was suppressed, as an alien Priory, in the time of Henry V., and given by Henry VI. to New College, Oxford.

PIGHTLESTHORN, or PITSTON.

ASHRIDGE (partly in this parish, partly in Little-Gaddesden, Herts).

College, of Bonhommes. Founded by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, son to Richard, K. of the Romans, 1283. As to this monastery, see the "Verney Papers," Camden

Society, 1853, and "The Register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, at Luton, Bedfordshire," which is in print, and shortly to be published.

Arms: *Gules, on a tomb argent, a Lamb passant gardant of the last, resting his dexter fore-foot on an orb royal or, and holding therewith a split pennon of the 2nd, charged with a cross of the 1st.* (Tanner, "Notitia Monastica.") The Lysons state (p. 621) that these arms, amongst others, were carved on the groined roof of the cloisters: "A holy Lamb standing on the sepulchre, and holding a banner." This appears to be a symbolical representation of the Resurrection of our Lord.

Seal: engraved in Todd's "Ashridge," p. 81. No orb; the pennon has three points; the tomb is draped; and in the lower angle is a lion rampant.*

Ravenstone.

Priory, of Austin canons. Founded by Peter de Chacoport, rector of Ivinghoe, in the reign of Henry III., or, as some say, by the King himself. Dissolved, 1524.

Seals. Two are engraved in Lipscomb's "History."

Hospital. Founded by Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Chancellor, who died 1682.

Arms of the founder: *Argent, a chevron between three griffins passant sable; a crescent for difference.*

Shenley.

Stafford's Almshouse. Founded under the will of Thomas Stafford, Esq., of Tattenhoe, 1615.

Arms of the founder: *Or, a chevron gules, with a canton ermine.* (Vis. Bucks, 1634.)

Stoke-Poges.

Hospital. Founded by Edward, Lord Hastings of Loughborough, who died 1558.

Arms of the founder: *Argent, a maunch sable; a mullet for difference.*

* In a woodcut of the arms on the title page of Todd's "Ashridge," the Lamb is gardant, the flag is charged with a sword, fesswise, and the orb has no cross.

STRATFORD (STONY).

Hospital. Founded before 1240. Probably identical with the Hospital of St. John upon the Causeway.

Brotherhood of Our Lady. Founded by John Edy and others, 1481.

WENDOVER.

Borough. This town sent two burgesses to Parliament from 28 Edw. I. to 2 Edw. II., and again from 21 James I. until 1832, when it was disfranchised. No arms are mentioned.

WHADDON.

SNELSHALL.

Priory, of the Benedictine Order. Founded by Ralph Martel, before 1225.

WING.

Priory, of the Benedictine Order. Founded through a gift by Maud the Empress to the Monastery of St. Nicholas, at Angers. As an alien house, it was suppressed in the time of Henry V.

Dormer's Hospital. Founded in 1596, by Dame Dorothy Pelham. This lady was a daughter of Anthony Catesby, and widow of Sir William Dormer, who died 1575, and of Sir William Pelham, who died 1587. The charity was augmented by Sir William Stanhope, 1772.

Arms of Dormer: *Azure, ten billets, 4, 3, 2, 1, or; on a chief of the 2nd a demi-lion rampant issuant sable.* Impaling Catesby: *Argent, two lions passant sable, crowned or.*

WYCOMBE (CHEPPING, or HIGH).

Borough. This town has sent burgesses to Parliament ever since 1300. It received a charter in 1461, but was a corporation long before.

Arms: *Sable, on a mount in base vert, a swan, close, ducally gorged, and with a chain reflected over the back, or.* Confirmed to the borough, 1566, by William Harvey, Clarenceux. See "R. B.", vol. iii., p. 264, and the plate in vol. v., opp. p. 153. On the seal now in use, which appears to be of the XVIIth century, the swan

is erroneously represented with expanded wings, and the mount is omitted.

Temple Manor. Robert de Vipont had a grant of lands in Wycombe from K. John, and gave them to the Templars. After the dissolution of this Order, 1312, they were obtained by the Hospitallers. It does not appear that either Order had a Preceptory here, but the manor of Temple-Wycombe still exists.

The banner of the Templars, called "beauseant," was parted horizontally, black and white; sometimes a red cross was added. A roll of the XIIIth century describes the banner thus: "Le auntient (*or*, baucent) de Temple, d'argent vn cheif sable vn crois gulez passant." This is presumed to mean, *Per fess sable and argent, over all a cross gules.*

Hospital of St. Giles. Founded, as it seems, before 1229, for lepers.

Hospital of St. Margaret. A separate foundation, apparently.

Hospital of St. John the Baptist. Founded before 1235.

School. Founded, at St. John's Hospital, by Q. Elizabeth.

Arms of the foundress: *France and England quarterly.*

Wyrardisbury, or Wraysbury.

Ankerwyke Priory, of Benedictine nuns. Founded by Gilbert de Montfitchet, and Richard, his son, about 1165.

Arms of Richard de Montfitchet: *Gules, three chevronels or, a label azure.* (Glover's Roll, t. Hen. III., No. 80.)

The writer has not attempted to compile a full catalogue of the corporation seals of Buckinghamshire. This is a desideratum which it is hoped some archæologist who is more familiar with the subject will supply. Under this head, the Archdeaconry of Buckingham and the Rural Deaneries should not be overlooked. Another desideratum is a complete list of the local tokens.

To the foregoing it may be convenient to add a list of

TITLES IN THE PEERAGE, DERIVED FROM PLACES IN THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

The Earls, Marquises, and Dukes of the County have been already mentioned.

AYLESBURY.

Bruce. E. 1664–1747.
Brudenell-Bruce. E. 1776. M. 1821. Extant.

The title has always been spelled "Ailesbury."

BEACONSFIELD.

Disraeli. Vss. 1868–72. E. 1876–81.

BUCKINGHAM.

Grenville. M. 1784. D. of Buckingham and Chandos, 1822. Extant.

CHESHAM.

Cavendish. B. 1858. Extant.

COTTESLOE.

Fremantle. B. 1874. Extant.

HAVERSHAM.

Thompson. B. 1696–1745.

QUARENDON.

Lee. V. 1674–1776. (E. of Lichfield.)

WHADDON.

Villiers. B. 1616–87. (V. Villiers. E. M. and D. of Buckingham. See above.)

WINCHENDON.

Wharton. V. 1706–31. (E. M. and D. of Wharton.)

WOLVERTON.

Wolverton. B. by tenure, t. Hen. I.—Edw. I.
Glyn. B. 1869. Extant.

WYCOMBE.

Petty. B. 1760. E. 1784. (M. of Lansdowne.) Extant.

H. G.

P.S.—In a plate, dated 1610, in Speed's "Theatre of Great Britain," 1611, the swan in the arms of Buckingham is chained. But in the same representation the tinctures of the field are mistakenly transposed.

The drawings for the six plates following were made, and are kindly presented to the Society, by the Rev. F. H. Hummel, M.A.

*** *The Editor would be much obliged for any information as to the discovery of implements, or other relics of the* BRONZE AGE, *which may have been made in Buckinghamshire by the readers of* THE RECORDS. *Full particulars of any such discoveries, giving a description of the relics themselves, and showing the locality where they were exhumed, would be greatly valued. Communications should be forwarded to* Mr. JOHN PARKER, *Hillside, High Wycombe.*

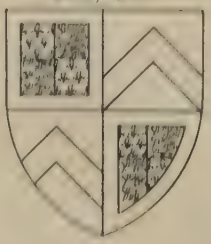
MERCIA

Giffard

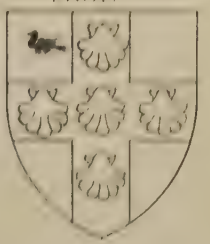
Clare.

Plantagenet

Stafford.



Villiers



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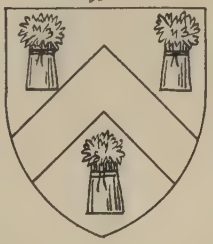
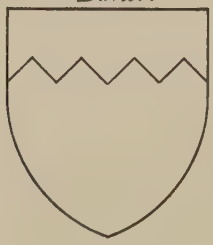
Sheffield.



Hobart.

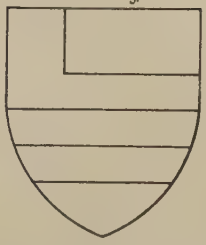
AMERSHAM.
Drake.

AYLESBURY.
Butler.



AYLESBURY.
Lee.

BIDDLESDEN.
Abbey.

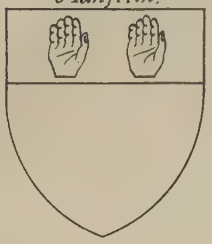


F. Hammel del.

Whiteman & Bass Photo-Litho London

BRADWELL Priory.

Manfelin.



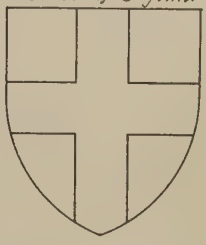
Wolverton.

BUCKINGHAM.
Borough.

BURNHAM.
Abbey.

ETON.
College.

HOGSHAW.
Order of St John.



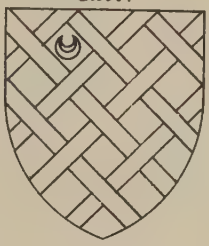
Hummel del

Whitaman & Bass. *Photo-Litho.* London

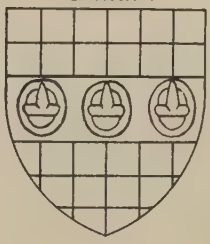
LANGLEY MARISH.
Kederminſter.

Seymour.

LATHBURY.
Cave.



LAVENDON.
Bidun.



G^t^ LINFORD.
Prichard.

LUFFIELD.
Leiceſter.

J^r^ Hummel del

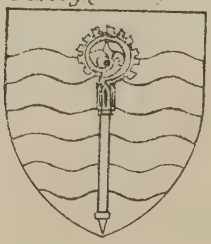
Whiteman & Bass *Photo Litho* London

Gt. Marlow.
Borlase.

Medmenham.
Bolebec.

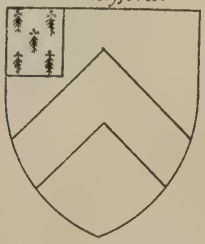
Gt. Missenden.
Abbey

Abbey. (another.)



Newport Pagnel.
Somery.

Shenley.
Stafford.



F. Hummel del

Whiteman & Bass *Photo-Litho* London.

PIGHTLESTHORNE.
Athridge College.

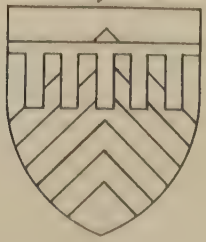
RAVENSTONE.
Finch.

STOKE POGES.
Hastings.

WING.
Dormer.

WYCOMBE.
Borough.

WRAYSBURY.
Ankerwyke Priory
Montfitchet.



Hummel del

Whitaker, Allbass Photo-Litho London

THE BELLS OF THE PARISH CHURCHES IN THE HUNDRED OF DESBOROUGH (BUCKS).

BY ALFRED HENEAGE COCKS, M.A.

The history of the Bells of Buckinghamshire is as yet unwritten, and as a small contribution towards such a work, the following account of the bells in one of its Hundreds is offered.

Accompanied by Mr. Vere Awdry (late Foreman of the Great Marlow Belfry), I last summer visited every belfry in the Hundred of Desborough, and found room for improvement in a large majority of them; the unfortunate belfry being generally not treated as one of "the Courts of the Lord's House." I must call attention to the existence of an excellent Society, not so widely known as it deserves to be—The Oxford Diocesan Guild of Church Bell-ringers, of which the objects are—"To recognize the true position of Ringers as Church Officers; to cultivate the art of Change Ringing; and, to promote Belfry reform where it is needed." Only two belfries in this Hundred at present belong to the Guild—Wooburn and Great Marlow—but as fresh towers are continually joining, it may be hoped that other names from this Hundred may be found added in the next Annual Report.

The Hundred of Desborough, the south-westernmost division of the county of Bucks, contains 17 parishes, and the churches contain 80 bells. This gives an average of about 4·7 bells to each parish: The Rev. W. C. Lukis ("An Account of Church Bells," p. 29), has examined the bells of 88 of the churches in the Archdeaconry of Wilts, with an aggregate of 406 bells, which gives about

4·11 to each; and mentions Framland Hundred, in the county of Leicester, as containing 38 churches, with 127 bells, or only about 3·35 bells to each church. Mr. Stahlschmidt ("Bells of Surrey") records 1030 bells in Surrey, in 388 churches, or only about 2·65 bells to each. These are very slight data upon which to form an average, but so far as they go, they appear to show that the churches of the Hundred of Desborough have fully their share of bells.

The bells may be tabulated as under:—

Parish.	Centuries.						Total.
	13th.	15th.	16th.	17th.	18th.	19th.	
Bradenham	2*	...	...	...	1	...	3
Fawley	...	2†	...	...	...	1	3
Fingest	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Hambleden	...	1	...	2	2	1	6
Hedsor	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Hughenden	...	2	...	2	...	4	8
Ibstone	...	...	...	...	2?	...	2
Lane End	...	..	...	...	...	6	6
Great Marlow	...	...	...	1‡	5	3	9‡
Little Marlow	...	...	.	...	2	1	3
Medmenham	...	...	...	3	...	...	3
Radnage	...	...	...	2	2	...	4
Saunderton	...	...	...	3	...	...	3
Turville	...	...	...	2	2‡	...	4‡
Wooburn	...	...	...	...	4	4	8
High Wycombe	...	...	...	...	6	4	10
West Wycombe	...	...	1	2	2	1	6
Totals	2	5	1	17	29	26	80

The following founders are represented in the Hundred:—

* These may date from the first decade of the 14th century.
† One of these may date from commencement of the 16th century.
‡ Including Saunce Bell.

Founder.	Locality.	Date.	No. of Examples in the Hundred.	Fuller Particulars under	Authorities.
Michael de Wymbish	London	Living in 1297. Dead by 1310.....	2	Bradenham	Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," pp. 4, 6.
"R. L." Unknown (probably the predecessor of John Michell)	Probly. Wokingham...	Probly. Edward IV.'s reign (= 1461—1483).....	4	Fawley	Tyssen, "Bells of Sussex," p. 9, footnote; Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 86; North, "Bells of Bedfordshire," "Northamptonshire," &c.; also Ellacombe, "Bells of Devon," "Somersetshire," "Gloucestershire," &c.
(The 2nd Bell at Fawley) Unknown	Unknown	Probly. latter part of 15th or early 16th century ...	1	do.	
Joseph Carter	Reading [from 1606 also at Whitechapel]	1579—1610.....	1	West Wycombe...	Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 94, &c.; Tyssen, "Bells of Sussex," p. 37.
Henry Knight I.	Reading	1587—1626..... ...	2	Hughenden ...	Tyssen, "Bells of Sussex," p. 36; Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 94; Lukis, "Church Bells," p. 13, &c.
Ellis Knight (was probly. the founder of some if not all the bells having no founder's mark or initials, and dated between 1624 and 1637 ...	do.	1623—1642.....	6 probly	do. ...	
Ellis and Henry Knight ..	do.	1663—1666.....	3	do. ...	
Henry Knight II.	do.	1670—1672.....	1	do. ...	
Samuel Knight.....	do.	1689—1708.....	2	do. ...	
	[Removed to London about	1710—Dd. 1739.			

Founder.	Locality.	Date.	No. of Examples in the Hundred.	Fuller Particulars under	Authorities.
Alexander Rigby	Stamford	1684—1708	3	Saunderton	North, "Bells of Northamptonshire."
"A K," Unknown	Unknown	1700	1	Hedsor	
Unknown	Unknown	Probly. early 18th century	2	Ibstone	
Unknown	Unknown	1729	1	Turville (Sanctus)	
Richard Phelps		1700	...	.....	Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 102, &c.; Mears and Stainbank, "List of Peals cast since 1738;" Tyssen, "Bells of Sussex;" Lukis, "Church Bells," p.14.
	Essex St., Whitechapel from	1701—1734	12	Gt. Marlow ...	
Thomas Lester	267, Whitechapel Road	1738—1752	1	do. ...	
Lester and Pack	do.	1752—1769	4	do. ...	
Pack and Chapman	do.	1770—1781	1	do. ...	
Thomas Swain	Holborn, London	1753—1782	3	Little Marlow ...	Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 120.
John Briant	Hertford	1787—1820	2	High Wycombe...	Lukis, "Church Bells," p. 14; North, "Bells of Northamptonshire."
Thomas Mears, Senr	267, Whitechapel Road	1791—1804	5	Gt. Marlow...	See above Whitechapel Founders.
Thomas Mears, Junr	do.	1810—1843	7		
Mears & Stainbank	do.	1865 to present time	9		
J. Hobbs	Lane End, Marlow	1830	1	Fingest	
John Warner	London	1789—1799	1	Hughenden	Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 106.
John Warner & Sons	do.	1850 to present time	4		
J. Murphy	Dublin	1868 to present time ?	1	Wooburn	
		Total	80		

Joseph Carter and the Knights of Reading may be claimed as local founders, as also, probably, "R. L." in the 15th century; but of bells by the founders in Buckinghamshire, mentioned by Mr. T. A. Turner in the IVth vol. of the RECORDS, there are no examples in Desborough Hundred; the only bell cast in the county being the very poor one at Fingest, cast by, or at least bearing the name of, J. Hobbs, of Lane End, and dated 1830. This firm are simply iron-founders, and can hardly be reckoned among the bell-founders of the county.

The inscriptions are given exactly as they are on the bells, including mis-spellings, reversed letters, &c.: even the forms of the letters have been followed as closely as existing founts of type allow. In all bells by R. Phelps where N is printed the wrong way up (= N) the original letter is reversed, the centre stroke running from right to left, instead of the usual left to right; but this could not be shown without having letters cut specially.

BRADENHAM.

1. THOMAS MEARS OF LONDON FECIT 1799
(Plate II., Fig. 1.)

2. ✠ MICHAEL: DE:
VVYMBIS:ME:FECIT

3. Ditto.

There are only a very few bells* (if any), in England, older than the 2nd and Tenor. Mr. Stahlschmidt, in "Surrey Bells and London Bell Founders" (1884), gives all that is known about the Wymbish family—three of whom, and perhaps four, were bell founders. Michael was apparently somewhat the earliest of them. On the Rolls of the Hustings Court (City of London), under date

* "The earliest *dated* bell in England, at present known, is at Claughton, Lancashire; it bears date 1297. The bell at Goring, Oxon, ... although not dated, is however, clearly earlier." (Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. x.) It was cast by Richard de Wymbish, and bears the name of Bishop Peter de Quivil, who died in 1291, and from the terms of the inscription, the bell was probably cast during his lifetime. It is quite possible, however, that the Bradenham bells may be even older.

1297, is a deed made between him, and his daughter Margaret, together with her husband Adam de Wirlee; and another deed, enrolled in 1310, mentions Michael de Wymbish as the "late." As the name of Richard de Wymbish appears in the Guildhall records in 1303, it is *possible* that Michael was already dead at that date. Like all early bells, they are very long shaped and resonant. Mr. Stahlschmidt (*op. cit.*) mentions these bells, and figures the lettering and cross. Diameter of Tenor at mouth, 27⅞ inches.

FAWLEY.

1. Cast by John Warner & Sons London 1866

(On the waist :—)

PATENT

2. sanc ta mar gri ta ora

Pro no bis

3. (Plate I., Fig. 4.) Sancte Johannes Ora Pro Nobis (Plate I., Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

Tenor: Diameter at mouth, 36¾ inches. Bells evidently from the same foundry occur at Hambleden (Tenor), and at Hughenden (7 and Tenor).

The crowns on these handsome capital letters are formed of fleurs-de-lys, similar to that on the initial cross Plate I., Fig. 4.

The name and locality of the founder of the very handsome ancient bells of which the Tenor is an example, have hitherto proved an insoluble riddle to campanologists; they exist in astonishing numbers considering

Plate. I.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

their age, Mr. Tyssen ("Bells of Sussex") "having found more than fifty of these bells in the counties of Hants, Berks, Bucks, Oxon, Northants, and Surrey;" besides examples in Sussex; and others in Devon, Somerset, and Gloucestershire recorded by Mr. Ellacombe in his histories of the bells of those three counties; one in Norfolk recorded by Mr. Stahlschmidt; and there are doubtless others again in other counties. All these bells may be grouped together, as the same stamps have been used on each for the lettering (at least for the capitals) and for the various founders' marks: but as various other founders' marks (including one, of the arms of the Episcopal See of Winchester) are introduced on some of the bells, it is almost certain that the stamps were handed down from one founder to his successor, and were used through a long period of years by successive founders, who did not all necessarily live at the same town. So far as I have been able to make out (from the works of Mr. Tyssen, Mr. Stahlschmidt, etc.), the earliest existing bell which seems certainly to be connected with this foundry, is the 5th at Chertsey. The whole of the inscription on it is in crowned "Lombardic" or "Gothic" capitals of the same pattern as the capitals on the present bell. As the use of "small" letters, according to Mr. Stahlschmidt's observations (in which opinion the late Mr. T. North, F.S.A., author of histories of the bells of several counties, concurred), came in during the first two decades of the 15th century, the Chertsey bell would probably date from that period at latest; it has the Lion's Head Stamp, "a coin," (not more particularly specified), and a stop consisting of a diamond pattern between two circular patterns. This founder was (I assume) succeeded by one whose initials were "R. L."* (See Plate I., Fig. 2.) The four bells in this Hundred belonging to this group were, I imagine from the identity of the coin on each, cast about the same time, though only two of them have the "R. L." shield.

The reverses of the groats (from which the stamp on the bells was apparently taken) of three or four of the

* The third device on this shield is, according to Mr. Stahlschmidt, not a W, but a "merchant's mark." "Besides, three letters would imply a double Christian name, a thing almost unknown in England in pre-Reformation times."

English Kings of the 14th and 15th centuries, are very similar, especially those of Edward III. and IV., and unfortunately the medallions on the bells are all more or less indistinct, making minute differentiation difficult; but with Mr. Awdry's assistance, I took considerable pains to obtain reproductions of the stamps, which I submitted to the Coin Department in the British Museum; and received the following opinion :—

"British Museum, *July* 23rd, 1884.

"Dear Sir,

"Mr. Graeber and I have carefully examined the sealing-wax impressions which you send, and we are pretty sure that the groats upon the bells must be of the time of Edward IV. There are certain indications which were not visible in the drawings and rubbings which you sent.

"Yours faithfully, "C. F. Keary."

This agrees with the conclusion I had myself arrived at as to the reign indicated by the coin, and I feel tolerably satisfied (pending further evidence), that these four bells date from Edward IV.'s time, that is between the years 1461 and 1483.

In the "History of Hughenden" published in the Records, Vol. V., p. 214, Mr. Downs mentions the bells in that Tower, and assigns the two old ones to the reign of Edward III., but gives no authority or reason for so assigning them. Commencing four years after the death of Edward IV., we have a tolerably consecutive list of founders, who seem to fit in nicely as successors to "R. L.," and are so considered by Mr. Tyssen, viz. :—

John Michell,	Wokingham,	1487—1493.
William Hasylwood,	Reading,	1494—1509.
John Hasylwood,	do.	1510.
John White,	do.	1515—1527.
John Saunders,	do.	1539—1559.
	[From 1556 also in London.*]	

And subsequently some of the same lettering was used by Joseph Carter of Reading, 1579—1610, "and this strongly supports the theory that these bells were cast by his predecessors in the same locality."†

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* Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 86.

† "Bells of Sussex," p. 9, footnote. But as Joseph Carter also had the Whitechapel Foundry for a few years, he *might* have acquired these stamps in London, and not at Reading.

Some of this group of bells have the initials I. S. These, according to Mr. Stahlschmidt, do not stand for John Saunders, but for Johanna Sturdy, widow. It is impossible here to transcribe all the remarks of this gentleman on the subject, and I must refer those interested to headquarters ("Bells of Surrey," p. 49 *et seq.*); but "Johane," the widow of a London bell founder named Richard Hille, who died in 1440, continued to carry on the business; in 1459, "Johane" or "Johana" Sturdy, widow, appears as a bell founder (or *foundress*), and is reasonably conjectured by Mr. Stahlschmidt to be the same Johanna, left a widow for the second time. As however a bell at Waterstock in Oxfordshire has these initials under the R. L. shield, it would seem as if the founder I. S. were subsequent to the founder R. L., although Mr. Stahlschmidt (p. 86) says, "I cannot help coming to the conclusion that it (the lion's head stamp) was originally the distinguishing mark of an early fifteenth-century London founder, and that it migrated later—possibly to Winchester—to the possession of a founder whose initials were R. L., and certainly finally to Reading."

FINGEST.

1. (*Incised*) J. Hobbs Lane End 1830.

(On the stock is cut—)

C W C W

(On one end—) T × T E × S

T M May 29

18 30

A poor bell; diameter at mouth, 31⅛ inches. This bell is hung with a wheel and stay, but no slider. The frame appears to be older than the bell; and is made for two bells, the second place having evidently been in use at some time; while all round this fine early Norman tower are to be seen the marks in the walls where the frames of a peal of bells were fixed.

Since my visit (in the summer of 1884) the tower has undergone "restoration."

HAMBLEDEN.

1. R : Phelps made me (Plate II., Figs. 2, 3, 2.) Georgivs Rex A : D : 1724 D : Iones R : Lane CH : W :

2. **Feare God 1634**

3. **Georg Deavie gave this bell 1634**

4. John Warner & Sons Crescent Foundry London 1857.

(On the waist :—)

PATENT

5. Pack & Chapman of London Fecit 1778 (Plate II., Fig. 1.)

(Underneath, Plate II., Fig. 1, continued all round).

6. (Plate I., Fig. 4.) Ora Mente Pia Pro Nobis Virgo Maria (Plate I., Figs. 3, 1.)

Treble. Has been turned; the pair of single canons are broken off.

2 and 3. Ditto, ditto. The inscriptions were graven on the outer mould, or *cope*, not stamped; I suppose these two bells to be the work of Ellis Knight of Reading.

3. Hung with improved gudgeons.

4. Square canons; improved gudgeons.

5. Has been turned; improved gudgeons.

6. Canons broken off; has been turned; diameter at

mouth, 41½ inches. For note on this beautiful old bell—similar to one at Fawley and two at Hughenden—see under Fawley.

There is a tradition that the Rectors of Hambleden and Fingest at some time in "the good old days" played cards together for money. The latter having lost all his available cash, staked the bells of his parish church, and losing, the bells were brought here. Fingest, as we have seen, at the present time only possesses one modern bell, while marks in the tower show that a peal at some former time hung there. The present Rector of Hambleden, the Rev. C. M. Wetherall, believes it to be true that some of the Hambleden bells originally belonged to Fingest, but does not credit the manner in which they are alleged to have been acquired by the former parish. Langley (Hist. of Desborough, published 1797) says of Hambleden, "The tower, which stood formerly between the church and the chancel, was taken down in 1703, and in 1721 the present* tower was built at the west end." He mentions the "ring of bells," giving the inscription on the old one—which he calls the *fifth*—substituting the word "Sancta" for "Virgo." If therefore the bells, or any of them, came from Fingest, the year 1721 would probably be the date when the transfer took place. Only three of the present Hambleden bells are older than this date, but the others may be recasts, and not necessarily new bells.

HEDSOR.

1. A K J℥OO

(Incised on the stock is—) 1736

Diameter at mouth, 20⅞ inches. I have not been able to find any bell-founder with these initials; query, can he have been one of the Knights of Reading?

---

* Rebuilt, and the bells rehung, 1884.

HUGHENDEN.

1. Cast by John Warner & Sons London 1881.

(Underneath)

In memory of Earl Beaconsfield.

(On the waist)

Presented by Robert Warner Esq^re^
Bell Founder to Her Majesty
Queen Victoria

(On the waist, on opposite side)

Year by year the Steeple music
Oer the tended graves shall pour,
Where the dust of Saints is garnered
Till the Master comes once more.

2. Cast by John Warner & Sons London 1881.

(Underneath)

In memory of Earl Beaconsfield.

(On the waist)

Presented by Robert Warner Esq^re^
Bell Founder to her Majesty
Queen Victoria

(On the waist, on opposite side)

Christian men shall hear at distance
In their toil, or in their rest,
Joying that in one Communion
Of one Church, they too are blest.

3. Mears et Stainbank, Londini, Fecerunt, 1875.

(On waist) "Laudate Dominum omnes ejus Angeli."

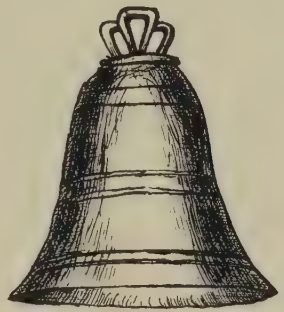
4. Mears et Stainbank, Londini, Fecerunt, 1875.

(On waist) "Dominum campanæ clangore laudate."

½ Fig. 1

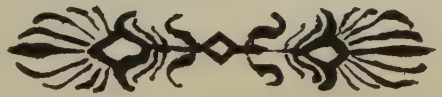
¼ Fig. 7.

¼ Fig. 4.



¼ Fig. 5.

¼ Fig. 6



½ Fig. 8

¼ Fig. 2. ¼ Fig. 3.

½ Fig. 9.

Plate II.

5. ANANIAS WRIGHT WILLIAM RVSEL (*sic*) C (Plate I., Fig. 5) W

(Underneath) H (Plate I., Fig. 6) K 1663.

6. Ditto.

7. (Plate I., Figs. 4, 3.) Sancta (Plate I., Fig. 3.) Maria (Plate I., Fig. 2.) Ora Pro [N]obis* (Plate I., Fig. 1.)

8. (Plate I., Fig. 4.) Christe (*sic*) Baptista Campana Gaudeat Ista (Plate I., Figs. 1, 3.)

1 and 2. The Crescent Foundry, Cripplegate, London, was established by Mr. John Warner in 1789, and carried on by him until 1799. In 1850 the firm became Messrs. John Warner & Sons, since which date only, they profess to have been casting bells regularly. Mr. Robert Warner is the present head of the firm. The only bell by John Warner in Desborough Hundred is at Wooburn.

5 and 6. The initials H. K. are those of Henry Knight of Reading, who was apparently at this time in partnership with Ellis Knight, whose initials are on the shield, Plate I., Fig. 6. This shield of Ellis Knight, between the initials of Henry Knight, also occurs on the Medmenham Tenor, on which also the human figure between the letters C. W. (= Church Wardens) is repeated, but the *reverse* way up, *i.e.*, with the left side downwards, instead of the right, as here.

The succession of the various members of the Knight family of Reading is not very clear; but the confusion probably arises (as with other foundries) from the son joining the business during his father's lifetime, and bells being afterwards cast bearing indiscriminately both names, or either of them alone. The following is the fullest list I have been able to compile; chiefly on the authority of Mr. Tyssen ("Bells of Sussex"):—

* This initial letter is entirely obliterated through corrosion, but wa doubtless N.

William Knight, 1567—1586.
[From 1560.—*Stahlschmidt.*]
Henry Knight, I., 1586—1622.
["Henri Knight made mee 1626." West Wycombe.]
Ellis Knight, 1623—1642.
["Ellis and Henry Knight made mee 1624." S. Lawrence, Winchester.—*Lukis.*]
[Ellis Knight's shield, with Henry Knight's initials on either side—1663, and 1666. Hughenden and Medmenham. Also 1670, Basingstoke. —*Lukis.*]
Henry Knight, II., 1651—1672.
["Ellis and Henry Knight made mee 1673." Week, Hants.—*Lukis.*]
Henry Knight, III., 1673—1680.

Samuel Knight, 1689—1708; moved to London about 1710, and died 1739; his will being dated November 15, and proved December 19, in that year.

Mr. Tyssen says, "There was also an assistant, Thomas Knight, who died in 1666; and an Ellis Knight, in partnership with the last Henry Knight, who died between 1685 and 1694."

He also gives the names, presumably about 1565, of the then bell-founders of Reading, William Welles, William Knight, and Vincent Gorowaye. Mr. Stahlschmidt, who is inclined to think this list should be placed somewhat earlier, found in the books of the Founders Company of London for 1518 the name of Winsent Galaway, while a certain William Knight was Under Warden in that year, Upper Warden in 1528, and Master of the Guild in 1530-31. The similarity of names is remarkable, and he considers that in the case of the Galaways the names are so peculiar as almost to amount to a certainty that they were one and the same man, and suggests that either this Knight and Galaway, or their sons and namesakes, may have migrated to Reading.

Query, were "A. K. 1700" (Hedsor) and William Knight 1735 (found in Dorset—*Lukis*) of this family?

7 and 8. These are similar to the two previously described at Fawley and Hambleden; *vide* Fawley.

Diameter of Tenor at mouth, 41½ inches; weight, 12 cwt.

Two Peals of 5040 Changes each have been rung in this steeple, viz., by

THE OXFORD DIOCESAN GUILD. A Side from Oxford. Holt's Ten-Part Peal of Grandsire Triples, *on Dec.* 29*th*, 1883.

THE OXFORD DIOCESAN GUILD. A Side from Oxford. Thurstan's Peal of Stedman Triples, *on Dec.* 8*th*, 1884.

IBSTONE.

1. (No inscription or pattern of any kind.)

2. (No inscription; but this pattern goes all round, 3 inches high, and an average of 3 inches or rather less between the apex of each angle—)

These bells perhaps date from last century.

We here met with the most amusing opposition on the part of the old Sexton, which, as it was the only instance in the Hundred, is worth recording. He thought our movements most suspicious, and walked all round the church (with his hat on!) to see if we had pocketed any of the hassocks, and could not understand what we wanted to look at the bells for; and afterwards spread such alarming reports of our goings on, that the congregation (as we heard afterwards) were afraid to go to church on the following Sunday, expecting that the church was about to be blown up with dynamite! This reads, doubtless, like a romance, but is sober fact.

LANE END.

1. Mears & Stainbank, Founders, London.

2. (Below)
3. Presented by
4. H. W. Cripps Q C
5. Parmoor 1878.
6.

The inscriptions are exactly alike on all six. They are a very light peal, the diameter of the Tenor being 33¼ inches. Beyond improved gudgeons, the hangings do not differ from older ones.

GREAT MARLOW.

1. THOMAS MEARS OF LONDON FOUNDER 1834.

2. T. MEARS OF LONDON FECIT 1827. (Plate II., Fig. 1.)

(Underneath, *incised*:)—

WILDSMITH BADGER
THOS GIBBONS } CH WARDENS.

3.
4.
5.
6. } R : PHELPS FECIT 1719

7. R : PHELPS MADE ME 1719 (Plate II., Figs. 2, 3.)
THE REVD : RICH : MILLECHAMPE M : A : VICAR
GEO : BRUERE ESQ : WM : BLUNDELL CH : WARDENS

8. THOMAS MEARS OF LONDON FOUNDER 1834.

(Underneath)

REVD THOMAS TRACY COXWELL VICAR,
THOMAS GIBBONS
SAMUEL BARNES } CHURCH WARDENS.
VOLUNTARY SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Saunce Bell. S K 1694

2. Mr. J. C. Truss informs me that this bell (at that time the *Treble*, the present Treble and Tenor having been added when the church was—in an evil hour—rebuilt in 1834) became cracked, and the churchwardens grudged the money necessary for its recasting; however, on the occasion of a visitation by the Archdeacon, they brought the cracked music of this bell so prominently to his notice, that he directed the churchwardens to have it recast.

3. The bell having developed a crack just below the crown, an iron band was put round it in 1849, hiding the

inscription, which I give on the authority of Mr. J. C. Truss, who was a boy of fifteen or sixteen at the time the band was put on, and helped his father, who was Sexton and Foreman of the Belfry. The hoop was made as hot as possible at the late Mr. Nicholls' forge in High Street; a man then ran with it to the tower, where it was again heated in a fire made on sheet iron in the bell-chamber; then put over the bell (which was unshackled from the stock), and shrunk with water.

Diameter of Tenor at mouth, 45¾ inches; weight, about 15½ cwt.

The Saunce Bell is commonly known by the name "Ting-tang," and was cast by Samuel Knight, of Reading; some particulars of its history are given at the end of this paper.

The majority of the churches in this Hundred have one or more bells from the Whitechapel Foundry; but as Marlow possesses the largest number thence, I give here

A LIST OF THE WHITECHAPEL BELL-FOUNDERS.

In Essex Street, Whitechapel.

Robert Mot, 1570—1605. Died 1608.

Joseph Carter (took this in addition to his Reading business), 1606—1610.

William Carter (his son), 1610—1618.

Thomas Bartlett (foreman to the Carters), 1619—1647.

Anthony Bartlett (his son), 1647—1676.

James Bartlett (his son), 1676. Died January, 1701.

Richard Phelps (in business 1700, commenced at this foundry in) 1701—1734. Died August, 1738.

Phelps & Lester, 1735—1738.

The business was then removed to present site,

267, Whitechapel Road.

Thomas Lester (foreman to Phelps), 1738—1752.

Lester & Pack (Thomas Pack had probably been Lester's foreman), 1752—1769.

Lester, Pack, & Chapman (William Chapman, nephew to Lester), 1769. (Lester died that year.)

Pack & Chapman, 1770—1781. (Pack died that year.)

Chapman & Mears (William Mears learnt the business

at the Whitechapel Foundry, and by 1777 was in business on his own account; was taken into partnership by Chapman in) 1782—1784. (Chapman died that year.)

William Mears, 1784—1786.

William & Thomas Mears, 1787—1791.

Thomas Mears, I., 1791—1804.

Thomas Mears & Son, 1805—1809.

Thomas Mears, II., 1810—1843.

["Messrs. Mears, founders, 1841." Winterslow, Wilts. —*Lukis.*]

Charles and George Mears, 1844—1860.

["C. & R. Mears, founders, London, 1848." Erchfont, Wilts.

"J. & T. Mears, founders, London, 1848." Calne, Wilts.

"T. & G. Mears, Londini, fecerunt, 1849." Woodborough, Wilts.

"A. Th. C. Mears, Londini, fecerunt, 1849." Broad Hinton, Wilts. *Lukis*, "Church Bells."]

["George Mears, 1858." Big Ben, Westminster.]

George Mears & Co., 1861—1865.

Mears & Stainbank (R. Stainbank, the present head of the firm), 1865 to present time.

Four Peals of Grandsire Triples (5040 Changes) have been rung in this steeple, viz., by

The Ancient Society of College Youths, *On June* 5th, 1843. (Mr. Robert Haworth, who rang the 7th bell, is the only one of this Side now living.)

The Oxford Diocesan Guild (E. Berks and S. Bucks Branch). A Side from Boyne Hill, Maidenhead. Taylor's Six-Part Peal, *on June* 9th, 1883.

The S. Lawrence, Reading, Society. Holt's Ten-Part Peal, *on Oct.* 20th, 1883.

The Oxford Diocesan Guild (E. Berks and S. Bucks Branch). A Side from Boyne Hill, Maidenhead, *on Nov.* 20th, 1884.

In the two latter Peals, a Marlow Ringer, Mr. J. C. Truss, took part.

Boards to record the first three of these Peals are hung in the Ringing Chamber.

LITTLE MARLOW.

1. Mears & Stainbank, founders, London, 1873.

2. THO^{S} [A circular stamp, 1¼ inch diameter, perhaps a coin.] SWAIN (Plate II., Fig. 5) MADE (Plate II., Fig. 4, very imperfectly stamped) ME (Plate II., Fig. 6) IN (Plate II., Fig. 5) J757 (Plate II., Fig. 4, very imperfect, and Fig. 6.)

3. THO^{S} · SWAINE (Plate II., Fig. 4; underneath is TH^{OS} Swain Fecit) MADE · MEE (Plate II., Fig. 4, very imperfect) IN J777 (Four coins, very indistinct, 1½ inches diameter, apparently obverse of a coin of George III.; then two impressions of Plate II., Fig. 4; under the first is :—) TH^{OS} Swain Fecit (and under the second is :—) T. Swain Fecit

Samuel Knight,* the last of that family of Reading bell-founders, migrated to London in 1710 (probably to Shoe Lane), in the parish of S. Andrew, Holborn. He died in the latter part of 1739 (his will being dated 15th November, and proved on the 19th December in that year). He was succeeded by his executor and residuary legatee, Robert Catlin. He died in 1751, and was succeeded by Thomas Swain, of Longford, in Harmondsworth, Middlesex, eldest son of Thomas Swain, of West Bedfont. The latter was probably the son of Richard Swain, who married Barbara (born 1665), third daughter of William Eldridge, bell-founder, of Chertsey, grandson of Richard, bell-founder, of Wokingham (1592—1623), who is probably the founder alluded to in the Great Marlow churchwardens' accounts for 1593. (*See p.* 404.)

There is a bell by Thomas Swain also at High Wycombe.

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* Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 120, etc.

MEDMENHAM.

1. (Round the crown) HENRY DEVNE

(Ordinary position) WILLAM BLVNELL C W S K I 691.

2. THIS BELL WAS MADE 1624.

3. IOHN KEENE IEREMY BRIDEN C (Plate I., Fig. 5, *reversed*, *i.e.*, the figure lying with the *left* side down) W

(Underneath) H (Plate I., Fig. 6) K I666.

1. The only instance in the Hundred of any inscription on the crown of a bell.

The second *i* in Will*i*am is incised in place, and the *d* in Blun*d*ell is incised just underneath its proper place.

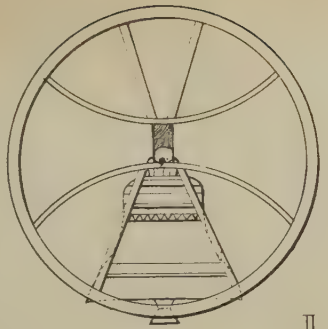
The C W of course stands for churchwardens, and the S K for Samuel Knight, of Reading.

2. The second bell is (from the lettering, etc.) probably also the work of the Reading foundry; and, if so, would be cast by Ellis Knight, from the date.

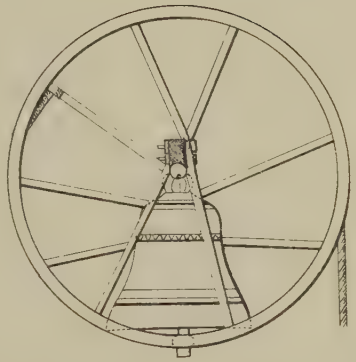
3. The initials on the shield (Plate I., Fig. 6) are those of Ellis Knight, of Reading; the initials H K are those of Henry Knight; they were apparently in partnership at that time. See 5th and 6th bells at Hughenden. This Tenor bell is about 10 cwt.

The clappers are fixed with wooden splints (otherwise known as "Busk-boards," or "Swords,") instead of the ordinary iron eopses and wooden "keys." The ball of the clapper of the Treble is peculiarly flat, and the flight is 3 inches long; while the ball of the Tenor clapper is enormous, and the flight is as much as 5 inches in length. The second bell has an iron stay 4½ inches long, and a slider fixed on the frame, level with the centre of the bell, consisting of a sliding iron bolt, with a short horizontal projection, at right angles to the bolt. The lead on the roof of the tower is dated 1706, and the bell hangings may perhaps be as old; there is a place for another bell, beyond the Tenor, fitted, even to the hole in the floor for the rope, as if there had actually been a fourth bell. The three wheels are all the same size.

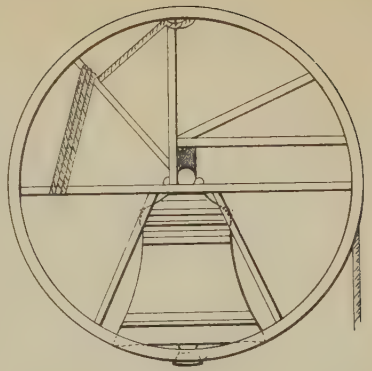
— Peculiar Wheels —



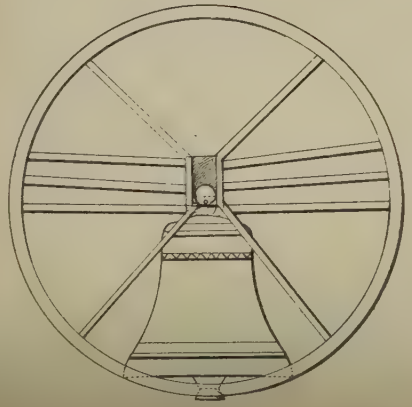
II



— Turville —
— 3 Bells —

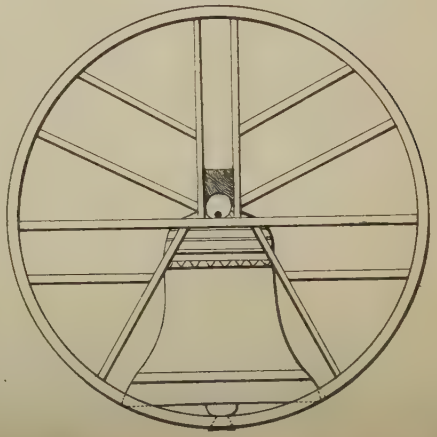


III



IIII

I, III, IIII, IV — Radnage —



IV

Plate III

RADNAGE.

1. LESTER AND PACK OF LONDON FECIT 1763 (Plate II., Fig. 1, and repeated all round underneath).

2. FEAR GOD ✠634

3. R^{D} : PHELPS MADE ME 1729 (Plate II., Fig. 3) EDWARD BARLOW JASPER HUNT CHURCHWARDENS

4. W · S ✠ · B CHURCHWARDENS 1637 ·

1. Messrs. Lester & Pack (predecessors of Messrs. Mears & Stainbank, of Whitechapel) used the singular "Fecit," as the firm continued to do when it was Pack & Chapman; see the 5th bell at Hambleden.

3. Nearly all the N's in bells by Phelps are transposed, as mentioned, p. 379.

The 2nd and 4th bells are, I think, the work of the Knights of Reading.

Tenor: diameter at mouth, 38$\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

The four wheels are all of different patterns, and as such are, I think, worth placing on record (see Plate III., Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4).

SAUNDERTON.

1. ✠ (Plate II., Fig. 9) ALEXANDER ⋮ RIGBY ⋮ MADE ⋮ ME ⋮ 1699 (Plate II., Fig. 9).

2. ✠ ⋮ ALEX ⋮ RIGBY ⋮ MADE ⋮ ME ⋮ 1699 ⋮ JOHN ⋮ DAVIES ⋮ M ⋮ A ⋮ RECTOR

3. ALEX ⋮ RIGBY ⋮ MADE ⋮ ME ⋮ 1699 ⋮ HENARY ⋮ NEWELL ⋮ & ⋮ JOSEPH ⋮ FRANSIS ⋮ C ⋮ W

A pretty little maiden peal, and very resonant.

Diameter of Tenor at mouth, 29⅛ inches.

Large roughly made wheels, the rope passes through them at the top; no stays or slides.

They hang in a small boarded turret, in which there would be no room for another bell; apparently a bell turret was not part of the original church (Decorated), as it is supported by oak beams inside the nave walls, springing from the floor.

The clappers are peculiar; their copses are of wood (instead of iron), and the clappers are fastened to them by long wooden pins or trenails (instead of bolts); the balls are very small, and the flights of the two smaller bells very long—that of the Treble being 5⅛ inches, and of the second 6½ inches.

Alexander Rigby was a founder at Stamford, where he succeeded Tobias Norris. The latter (whose family had held the foundry for four generations, from 1607) died in January, 1698-9. Rigby appears to have been connected with this foundry—perhaps as foreman—for some years before the death of Norris; for at Great Billing, Northamptonshire, the Treble bell, cast by him, is dated as early as 1684. Alexander Rigby died at Stamford, in Oct., 1708; and the foundry closed at his death.*

The following doggerel on the Treble at Badgworth, Gloucestershire, appears to show that Rigby's bells were not always so good as the present examples:—

> "Badgworth ringers they were mad,
> Because Rigbe made me bad;
> But Abel Rudhall,† you may see,
> Hath made me better than Rigbe. 1742."‡

TURVILLE.

1. HENRY KNIGHT MADE MEE 1670.
2. PRAYES THE LORD 1628

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* North, "Bells of Northamptonshire."

† Of Gloucester, 1737—1754. Lukis, "Church Bells."

‡ Tyssen, "Bells of Sussex," p. 36.

3. T. Lester Charles Cuthbert Vic^{R} John Juens John Quartermain CH : Wardens J744

(Below the date, but naturally referring to T. Lester, is :)—

Made me.

Saunce Bell. 1729.

2. Probably cast by Ellis Knight, of Reading; but this is only a conjecture. The letters on this bell average $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height, and appear to have been graven on the outer mould or *cope*, not stamped in the usual manner.

3. Diameter at mouth, $35\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The hangings of all these bells are old (perhaps dating from 1744—the date of the newest of the bells), and very peculiar; the sliders slide from both ends equally, instead of being hinged at one end; the stay of the Treble is fixed precisely in the centre of the stock. The stocks are all very short, the cross frames having to be cut away to a depth of quite 3 inches each side, to allow the mouths of the bells to pass; while the wheels are of the remarkable (and perhaps unique) pattern shown in Plate III., Fig. 5.

WOOBURN.

1. Thomas Mears of London Fecit 1814 (Plate II., Fig. 1).

2. Ditto ditto.

3. R : Phelps fecit 1718

4. T. Mears of London Fecit 1813 (Plate II., Fig. 1).

(Incised underneath)

Rev^{D} T, Tyndale, Minister
Harry, Pegg, } Ch. wardens
Wm Forrester, }

5. JOHN WARNER FOUNDER OF LONDON 1790. GEO. HOWARD, GEO. LANE CHURCHWARDENS.

6. J. MURPHY FOUNDER DUBLIN 1868 (Plate II., Fig. 8, repeated three times).

(Underneath :—Plate II., Fig. 8, repeated three times) THE GIFT OF WILLIAM MOONEY ESQ^{R} DUBLIN

7. R ⁝ PHELPS MADE ME 1712 • • MESSEIVRS BEN⁝ HICKMAN IOS⁝ PETTIPHER RIC⁝ SHRIMPTON⁝ HEN⁝ HVNT ALDERMEN

8. LESTER & PACK OF LONDON FECIT (Plate II., Fig. 1, but consisting only of one long loop, with a short loop at each end) GEORGE GROVE & RICHARD HOWARD CH : WARDENS 1762

(Underneath, Plate II., Fig. 1, all round).

2. In Lukis' "Church Bells" (published in 1857) the inscription on the second bell is stated to be—"Johannes Lenglen Episcopus Lincoln. + Ave Maria gratiæ plena Dominus tecum." No other bells at Wooburn are mentioned. This inscription is probably copied from Langley's "Hist. Hund. Desborough" (p. 443), where the name is spelt "Lenglon." On a brass on his gravestone in Eton College Chapel, the name was written "Longlandus," and "Longland;" he was born at Henley, and was Bishop of Lincoln from 1520, or 1521, to his death in 1547. The Bishops of Lincoln (in which diocese the present Archdeaconry of Buckingham was included from about A.D. 1078* to 1845) formerly had their palace in Wooburn; according to Langley, this bell was the gift of Bishop Lenglon, who also "laid out considerable sums on his palace here" (*ibid.*).

* Marshall's "History of the Diocese of Oxford."

7. The *e* and *i* in Messieurs are transposed, and all the N's are reversed.

8. Diameter at mouth, 47 inches. The canons are broken off.

On the floor of the north aisle is a brass of the founder of the steeple. There have been two figures—on the left is the "figure of a man in a gown furred at the wrists, with a purse and rosary" (Langley, p. 455); and to the right may be still seen the form in the stone where another figure—no doubt the wife—formerly existed. Underneath is the following inscription:—

Here lyeth John Godwyn & Pernell his wife first founders of the Stepult of Oborne Dennecourt whiche deceised the xbii daye of Aprill the yere of oure lord god mcccclxxxbiii on whose soules jhu habe mey of youre charite for owre soules & alle cristen sey a pat n & aue.

Langley gives a plate of this brass, as well as mentioning it in the letterpress (p. 455), but (especially as his transcript is not absolutely *literatim*) I have thought it best to repeat it here.* He also gives the pedigree of this family, beginning with the father of John Goodwin; John's wife is there called Petronilla; and he adds in a footnote, "By his will, proved June 29, 1488, he bequeaths £5 towards the reparation of Oborne St. Paul's steeple, and 20s. towards the making of a bell," etc.

HIGH WYCOMBE.

1. THOMAS MEARS OF LONDON FECIT 1802
(Plate II., Fig. 7, repeated 5 times).

2. THE GIFT OF THE EARL OF WYCOMB . . . . . / ELDEST SON OF THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN } JOHN BRIANT.

HARTFORD. FECIT. 1788. W. BALL . . / G. HARMAN . } ASSISTANTS.

* This brass is also figured in THE RECORDS, Vol. IV., plate facing p. 22, but without much attention to accuracy.

3. THE GIFT OF LORD HENRY PETTY . . . . . SECOND SON OF THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN } JOHN BRIANT.

HARTFORD. FECIT. 1788. G. HARMAN . W. BALL . } ASSISTANTS.

(The obverse of a coin, 1 inch diameter; Bust dexter, "Georgius III. Dei Gratia.")

4. RECAST BY THOMAS MEARS OF LONDON A, D, 1802 (Plate II., Fig. I).

5. R : PHELPS FEC : 1711 • • EDWARD STEVENS CLARK LUKE GURNEY SEXTON

6. RICHARD PHELPS OF WHITE CHAPEL LONDON MADE THESE EIGHT BELLS 1711 • •

7. THO^{S} SMAIN : MADE : ME : J756 (Plate II., Fig. 6) : ARON WOOSTER : THO^{S} WALKER : M^{R} MEAD : CHURCHWARDENES :

8. RECAST BY THOMAS MEARS OF LONDON A, D, 1802 (Plate II., Fig. I).

9. R : P : FEC : MESEIVRS JOHN LANE THO ; STEVENS GEO ; GROVE FERD^{O} ; SHRIMPTON THO ; WELLES ALD^{N} ; 1711

10. THO^{S} MEARS OF LONDON FECIT 1802 (Plate II., Fig. 7, five times) MAY ALL WHOM I SHALL SUMMON TO THE GRAVE THE BLESSINGS OF A WELL SPENT LIFE RECEIVE (Plate II., Fig. 7, five times).

(Next line) THE REV^{D} JAMES PRICE VICAR MESS^{RS} RICHARD BARTON SAMUEL BATES JAMES KINGSTON & DANIEL TURNER CHURCH WARDENS W B

Treble: diameter at mouth, 29¼ inches. Has been rehung by Messrs. Mears & Stainbank since this has been in type, viz., in Feb., 1885.

2 and 3. Have flat-topped canons.

John Briant was born at Exning, in Suffolk; he probably commenced work in 1787, and is said to have been an exceptionally painstaking founder; but, owing probably to family troubles, he fell into extreme poverty, and died in an almshouse at S. Albans, 27 Feb., 1829. His business was transferred to the Whitechapel foundry. He had two excellent assistants, Henry Symondson, tuner, and William Skerman, bell-caster (North, "Bells of Northamptonshire"), but I have not found any mention of the two assistants here named. The second bell is hung in a peculiar way, the straps on one side not being opposite to those on the other side, so that the coupling plates, instead of lying at right angles to the long axis of the stock, lie diagonally.

5. One canon is broken off.

6. Is badly cracked across the crown, and down to the waist—the opening admitting the edge of a finger nail; an iron hoop, similar to that on the Great Marlow third, would probably save it for years.

7. The W in "Swain" is the wrong way up = M. The canons are broken off. The stay is at the wheel-end of the stock.

10. Diameter at mouth, 51 inches.

The present 2nd and 3rd bells are evidently the two added to the peal of eight cast by Richard Phelps in 1711; whether this peal was badly cast, or suffered from hard treatment, cannot perhaps be ascertained now; but that one should require to be recast in forty-five years, and *four of the others* in ninety-one years, seems to show that something was wrong. I do not know how long the 6th has been cracked, but it is possible that the clock chimes may be the cause of this mischief.

The only 18th century Ringing Board in this Hundred hangs in the ringing chamber here, in an elaborate gilt frame, and is, I think, worth recording here:—

All Saints, Wycombe, April 8th, 1792.
On the evening of the eighth Instant
was **Rung** in this Steeple,

A COMPLEAT PEAL OF GRANDSIRE CATORS
Consisting of
Five Thousand one Hundred & eleven
Changes
By a Party of the SOCIETY *of*
LONDON COLLEGE YOUTHS
which they compleated in *three* hours
forty-two minutes, in that masterly
Style for which they are famous.

Performers

Mr. John Povey	*Treble*	*Mr. James Wooster*	6
Mr. John Holdsworth	2	*Mr. John Inville*	7
Mr. James Lance	3	*Mr. Edm^d Sylvester*	8
Mr. Will^m Wilson	4	*Mr. Dan^l Jenkins*	9
Mr. Rich^d Wilson	5	*Mr. John Lyford*	*Tenor*

The **Peal** *call'd by Mr. John Povey.*

WEST WYCOMBE.

1. LESTER & PACK OF LONDON FECIT, 1756.
2. HENRI KNIGHT MADE MEE 1621 T S R P ◇
3. Blessed be the name of the lorde ✠ ◻
(Underneath :)
Joseph carter
4. HENRI KNIGHT MADE MEE 1626
5. LESTER & PACK OF LONDON FECIT ◇ THOS BATTING, & JNO FRYER, CH-WARDENS 1762

6. T. MEARS OF LONDON, FECIT, 1828 (Plate II., Fig. I).

(Underneath :)

THOS. FREEMAN, SAML. FLETCHER, CHURCH WARDENS

2 and 4. The elder Henry Knight, of Reading.

3. This particularly handsome bell is the only one of the 16th century remaining in the Hundred, and is, as usual in old bells, long-shaped, and extremely resonant. Joseph Carter was (Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 94) casting bells in Reading from 1579 to 1610. According to Mr. Tyssen ("Bells of Sussex"), he started business in London in 1606, seemingly at the Whitechapel foundry, in succession to Robert Mott, his son William taking charge thereof. For a list of the Whitechapel founders, see under Great Marlow, p. 391.

At Hurley, near Great Marlow, but just out of Desborough Hundred, in Berks, is another bell by Joseph Carter,* inscribed (in very pretty lettering) :—

THIS BELL WAS MADE 1602

followed by the initials I C on either side of a shield resembling that figured by Mr. T. A. Turner in his account of the "Bellfounders in Bucks," in the RECORDS, Vol. IV., p. 126, Fig. 5, as on a bell by Bartholomew Atton, 1624; except that Carter's shield has less leaf work on the field, and on either side of the lower crowned bell are the initials I C. The shield, as figured by Mr. Turner, was, according to Stahlschmidt ("Bells of Surrey," p. 91), originally the foundry stamp of the Brasyers, of Norwich, and is figured by him (*loc. cit.*) as used by Carter's predecessor at the Whitechapel foundry—Robert Mot, the originator of that foundry.

At West Hothly, Sussex, are two bells cast by Joseph

* Hurley has also a pre Reformation bell, probably 15th century, which has been considered to bear the name of S. Sebastian, but I am unable to decipher some of the letters, and can offer no conjecture as to the meaning of the inscription.

Carter in the same year as the present example; one has precisely the same inscription, except that a capital B is used for the word "Be." His will is dated Feb. 14, 1609, and was proved April 10, 1610 (*op. cit.*, p. 36).

On the 31st March, 1591, William White was instituted vicar of West Wycombe, and apparently one of his first acts was to get a new bell. He was vicar for forty-three years. He succeeded Christopher Price, who (according to Langley) was instituted 1568, on a "pretended title" from Bisham.

EXTRACTS FROM THE OLD CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF GREAT MARLOW, HAVING REFERENCE TO THE BELFRY.

Dec. 1593. (Payments).

It. p^d^ to wydmo^e^ * for his paynes in goynge to and from Wokyngham † att what tyme the bell was in castynge ... ... xij^d^

---

* There is an ancient manor of this name (now spelt Widmer) in the parish, mentioned in Doomsday Book as having existed in Edward the Confessor's time. The name, variously spelt, appears continually in the churchwardens' accounts of this period. In 1650 "Ssilvester Widmere" was constable. "Mr. Richard Widmer, of Hitchenden House," is mentioned in 1690, in one of the old parish registers of Hughenden [Downs, RECORDS OF BUCKS, Vol. V., p. 202]. Widmore, as a surname, is one of the few names in these old churchwardens' accounts which does not occur in Marlow at the present time.

† Mr. Stahlschmidt, "Bells of Surrey," p. 109 *et seq.*, gives much interesting information about the Wokingham bell-foundry, of which the following is a very brief summary:—The first founder at Wokingham we are able to trace is Thomas Eldridge, who was casting bells there about 1565, the business being, in all probability, an offshoot from one of the Reading bell-foundries, of which there is distinct evidence of the existence of at least three in the early part of Elizabeth's reign [viz., William Welles, William Knight, and Vincent Gorowaye]. Robert Eldridge, presumably his son and successor, was also of Wokingham. His bells are dated 1592 to 1623. For the last twelve or thirteen years of his life he had a small branch establishment at Horsham, in Sussex. Bryan, doubtless his son, succeeded him; he had been associated with Richard for the last few years of his life: the earliest bell bearing his name is at Ifield, Sussex, and is dated 1618, and was probably cast at Horsham, as he is noted in the Horsham churchwardens' accounts for that year as paying the rent in lieu of Richard. Bells by him extend to 1638. He probably removed to Chertsey about 1619. He died in 1640. His eldest son, Bryan, the younger of that name, succeeded him. He died in 1661. His brother William succeeded him; he had been previously connected with

It. p^{d} Jn. Black for mendynge the belle when the Quene came to Bisham ... ... xviij^{d}
It. p^{d} for nayltes * and dryncke the same tyme ... xij^{d}
It. paied Ellys Graye for helpinge Draper cutt the bell stock ... ... ij^{d}
It. p^{d} Ranffe Draper for mendynge the gudgen of the great bell ... ... ii (torn off)
Itm. paied Ranffe Draper for settinge upp A post in the Churche and mendynge the belles ... ... xij^{d}
It. paied Ellys Graye for splesshinge † the bell rope j^{d}
It. p^{d} Goodman Sergeaunt for fower bell ropes ... xij^{s} iiij^{d}
It. p^{d} hym for makynge A rope for the clocke ... xv^{d}
It. p^{d} hym more for A newe baldricke ‡ ... ... xx^{d}
It. p^{d} for A locke for the steple doare ... ... xviij^{d}
It. paied Ranffe Draper and Sallenes for woorke § don in mendynge the steple ... ... x^{s}
It. p^{d} George Pemerton for sawynge of ccccxx^{ty} foote of bordys || for the steple ... ... vij^{s}
It. for the tymber logg whereof the bordys were sawed ... ... xij^{s}
It. p^{d} for one hundred of bordys more occupied att the steple ... ... v^{s}
It. p^{d} to Gowter Whalley for certeyn whele tymber ij^{s} iiij^{d}
It. p^{d} to Sawyers for cuttynge the same tymber ... xx^{d}
It. for a bell stocke ... ... xij^{d}
Paied to Thomas Waters for nayltes and other Iron-woorke about the Belles ... ... xviij^{d}
It. paied to Ranffe Draper for woorke don about the belles ... ... iiij^{s}
It. paied to the Ringers uppon St. Hughes' daye ¶ Ann^{o} 1592 ... ... iiij^{s} iiij^{d}

---

the business, as bells occur in Sussex bearing both brothers' names conjointly, dated 1660 and 1661, as well as one dated 1660, which bears William's name alone. He died at Chertsey in 1716, and with him this foundry came to an end. His third daughter, Barbara, married Richard Swain, who was probably the grandfather of Thomas Swain, bell-founder; *vide* under Little Marlow.

* Nails. † Splicing.

‡ The Baldrick, or "bauderick, is the leather gear with its appurtenances, attached to the upper part of the clapper, by which it is suspended" (Ellacombe, "Bells of Devon," p. 17, footnote). This arrangement is no longer in use in the Hundred of Desborough, even if it is anywhere in England, but I have seen clappers of church bells suspended in this way somewhere abroad—I think in Russia.

§ The broad Buckinghamshire accent is plainly recorded in such spellings as "fower," "doare," "woorke," &c.

|| Boards.

¶ S. Hugh was born in Burgundy, and earned such a reputation for

It. paied to William Hedge for tooe dayes woorke in helpinge Ranffe Draper ... ... xvj^{d}
It. p^{d} for xvi^{tene} powndes of hempe to make a roope for the clocke ... ... ij^{s} viij^{d}
It. p^{d} for amendynge the hangynge of the Bell ropes xij^{d}
It. p^{d} John Black & Thomas Webb for hanginge the Belles against the last Coronatõn daye ... ij^{s}
It. for nayltes occupyed the same tyme ... ... iiij^{d}
It. to the Ryngers uppon St. Hughes' daye last ... iiij^{s}
It p^{d} to Henrye Trusse * for A roape ... ... xxj^{d}

May 1595. Receipts.

Re. of goodwyfe parsons for a seate she sytteth in at the north syde of y^{e} belfry ... ... vj^{d}
Re. of players for playinge in the Churche lofte † ... ij^{s}

Payments.

Inprimis paid to John Seamer ‡ for a lyne for Bell ropes ... ... viij^{s}
It. p^{d} for a poolye for the clocke ... ... iij^{d}

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sanctity that he was summoned to England in 1181, to take charge of the first Carthusian house at Witham, in Somerset, founded by Henry II., who afterwards made him Bishop of Lincoln in 1186. Buckinghamshire was included in that diocese until the year 1845. He rebuilt Lincoln Cathedral in 1200, and when he died he was buried in it in a silver shrine, his body being borne to the grave by two kings—John of England and William of Scotland—assisted by some of their nobles, three archbishops, fourteen bishops, and more than one hundred abbots. S. Hugh's Day was November 17. ("Calendar of the Anglican Church," Parker, 1851.)

* The Truss family still keeps up its connection with the belfry; there are at this moment four members of the belfry of that name, and some few years ago there were no less than six ringers of that name at the same time.

† I am not sure whether the "Churche lofte" was part of the "Steple"; but it seems very possible, especially as this locality is in distinction to the next entry:—"Rec^{d} of the players of Wiccombe for playing in the Kitchin of the Church house a year ending midsummer next." The Church house is frequently mentioned previously in the accounts, and was very probably the fine 13th century building, commonly known as "The Tithe Barn," which stood by the river side, just above the present bridge, a little to the west of the church, and which—to the everlasting disgrace of the present generation—was pulled down about the year 1878. It may be well to record here that the splendid timbers of the oak roof (*Quercus sessiliflora*) were used by Mr. John O. Scott for the roof of Lane End Church, which was then being built. Most of the tiles were used for the barn at Town Farm, close to the former turnpike, in Bisham. It has been suggested to me that the "Churche lofte" may have been the *Rood Loft*, which would, of course, have no connection with the belfry, and that the "players" may have been, not actors, but minstrels, who gave some sort of musical performance.

‡ There is a manor of this name, now spelt Seymours, in this parish (now the property of T. O. Wethered, Esq.).

Aprill 14. It. p^{d} to John Surman for a plate for the Bell stocke ... ... viij^{d}
June. It. p^{d} for sullat oyle * for the clocke ... ... ij^{d}
Octob. 23. It. p^{d} for the mendinge of a plate of the clocke ... ... iij^{d}
It. p^{d} to the Ringers upon St. Hughes' daye ... iij^{s} iiij^{d}
It. p^{d} for the mendinge the Bawdrickes of the belles viij^{d}
It. p^{d} for nayles to amende the belles wheeles, and for candles & greace ... ... v^{d}
It. p^{d} Thom̃s Graye for mendinge the bell wheeles... viij^{d}
It. p^{d} to the smythe for makinge a plate and mendinge the other plates of the belles against St. Thom̃s daye ... ... xij^{d}
It. p^{d} for a Bawdricke for the Saunce Bell to Sergeaunt... ... ... iij^{d}
It. p^{d} to Cocke of Cookehm̃ for mendinge the Clocke wch. he must be pd. well & look to yt this xij monthe ... ... vj^{s}
It. p^{d} to Bryden for mendinge the plates of the Bells xij^{d}
It. p^{d} to Thom̃s Graye for trussinge uppe the belles viij^{d}

1596. Payments.
Itm̃. to the Ringars uppon St. Hewghe's daie ... v^{s}
Itm̃. grece for the belles & sallett oyle for the clock iiij^{d}
Itm̃. paied Nichas̃ Buckhurst for mendinge the bell ropes, for nayles & for a linke for the Clock iiij^{d}
Itm̃. to the Smyth for mendinge the yron worke of the bell wheells ... ... xij^{d}
Itm̃. to Thomas Grey for one daies work & a half in mendinge the Bell wheelles ... ... xvj^{d}
Itm. paied Serieant for A newe Badrick and mendinge an old ... ... x^{d}

April, 1598. Payments.
Itm̃. for a Bell rope & a baldericke ... ... v^{s}
Itm. to the Ryngars uppone St. Hue's daye A° 1596 iiij^{s}
Itm. for oyle for the Bells at that tyme ... ... ij^{d}
Itm. for a rope for the Saunce bell & a baldricke ... ij^{s} vj^{d}
Itm. for mendynge the clocke & for oyle ... ... vij^{d}
Itm̃. payd to Henrye Trusse for a lyne to make bell ropes ... ... viij^{s}
Itm. to Tho. Gray for mendinge the Bells & the bare† ij^{s} ij^{d}
Itm. for oyle for^{r} the bells ... ... iiij^{d}
Itm. to the Ryngars uppone the cronatyone daye ... iiij^{s}
Itm. to Surman for mendinge the bell gudgeon ... ij^{d}

* Salad oil. Occurs very often in the accounts. † Probably *bier*.

Itm. for mendinge ye bell clappe and for nayles ... xij^{d}
Itm. for mendynge the clock ... ... iiij^{d}

April, 1599. Payments.
Itm. to the Ryngers on St. Hue's daye ... ... v^{s}
Itm̃. for a Baldericke ... ... xx^{d}
Itm̃. to Tho. Graye for mendinge the Bell wheele ... ix^{d}
Itm̃. for oyle for the Bells ... ... iij^{d}

March, 1600. Payments.
Itm̃. payd to Tho. Sargeante fo^{r} a rope fo^{r} the greate plummett of the clocke ... ... iij^{s} iv^{d}
Itm̃. payde for a hund. and a halfe of vj pennye nayles for y^{e} Bells ... ... viij^{d}
Payde to Robte Hobbs for iiij dayes worke aboute the bells frame ... ... iiij^{s}
Payde to Mr. Brinckhurste for 34 foote of tymber for the Bell frame ... ... x^{s} iiij^{d}
Payde to Tho. Graye for viij dayes worke of his boye aboute y^{e} newe frame ... ... iiij^{s}

I am very strongly of opinion that all such old documents as churchwardens' accounts (say down to the end of the 18th century) ought to be printed *in extenso, verbatim et literatim,* as they afford glimpses of so many curious details of the lives and manner of living of our forefathers, the range of subjects on which they throw some light being extraordinary; and, consisting only of single copies—each in a more or less thumbed and crumbling condition—any accident, such as fire (independently of the slow ravages of time), may so easily put an end to them. However, at present, considerations of space oblige me to limit my extracts subsequent to the close of the 16th century, to a few of the more important entries during the early part of the following century which have reference to the bells; and to conclude with extracts giving the history of the bells still remaining in Marlow steeple which were cast prior to the present century.

The above extracts from the account taken in March, 1600, appear to show that the bells were being rehung; and in the course of that year (as appears in the next year's account), after ringing upon "St. Hewe's daye," there are entries for "iij laborers to helpe aboute the bells," etc., and "Itm̃ to Tho. Harte for a dayes worke,

and fo^{r} his forrope lente to lett downe y^{e} bells," and "Itm. bestowed upon y^{e} bargmen y^{t} brought upp the bells, xij^{d}."

In the next account, taken December, 1603, are entries "for makinge the bellfery flowre," and a "newe flowre in the uppe lofte," and various entries about "the frame" and "yron worke about the bells," including "yron worke at the new hanginge of the bells by Phillypp," and "To the same Phillipp for the newe wheeles & newe hanginge of the bells." The repairs were apparently completed early in the year, as there is a payment in the same year, "Itm. to y^{e} Ryngers when y^{e} Kynge was p.claymed, vj^{d}."

Under the date April, 1605, is given a list of subscriptions to the bells, of which the "sum" only amounted to the modest total of £3 8s. 3d.

The account taken in "Aprill," 1608, shows that some at least of the bells were again recast :—

Inp.mis payd for beare at the takeinge downe of the bells	iiij^{d}
It. paid at Reddinge for o^{e} Charges when the bells were cast	iiij^{s} vj^{d}
It. for bringinge of the bells from Reddinge ...	ij^{s} x^{d}
It. payd for Castinge of the bells and for mettle ...	x^{l} vj^{s}

Also various payments for "stocking" the bells. There is, unfortunately, nothing to show how many, or which, of the bells were then recast.

The account taken "Aprill," 1610, again shows the recasting of some of the bells :—

Inprimis Paied unto the Bellfounder in pt of Payment for castinge of the Bells	iij^{lb} x^{s}
Iten Paied to the Carter for Carryeinge the Bells from the water syde to be Caste and for bringinge of them home	ix^{s}
Iten Payed for makeinge of the bonde from the Bellfounder unto us	vj^{d}
Item Paied for more Mettell Putt in the bells ...	xx^{s}
Item Paied to Grigory for hanginge of them and for newe Boxinge and Trussinge* the others ...	x^{s}

* I do not know what these operations consist of; but suggest that possibly the second may mean tightening up the nuts of the straps and other bolts, but against this is an entry of a payment for nails for trussing the bells.

Item Paied for A newe Wheele for the fourth bell...	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item Paied for our Charges in goeinge to and from Readinge to see the Bells Cast and brought home	ix^{s} vj^{d}
Item Paied to Christopher Morgen for the Carriage of the Tenno^{r} and fourth bell to Readinge to be Cast	iiij^{s}
Item Paied for his* Charges goeinge to Reddinge to see the Tenno^{r} newe Cast	ij^{s}
Item Paied to the Bellfounder in full Payment for Castinge the Tenno^{r} and fourth bell	xl^{s}
Iten Paid for xx^{l} of mettell at ix^{d} the pounde Putt into the Tenno^{r} the last Castinge	xv^{s}
Item to Grigory for A new wheele for the Tenno^{r} †	vj^{s} viij^{d}
Item Paied to John Atkines for Carriyinge the Teño^{r} to Reddinge the last tyme	ij^{s} vj^{d}

Nowhere have I found the number of bells then in the peal mentioned; we have here mention of the fourth and the Tenor, showing that there were at least five besides the Saunce bell; and in 1644, *six* bell ropes were paid for, but this may possibly have included one for the Saunce bell, or a sixth bell may have been added during the interval.

There is no entry of a payment for ringing upon S. Hugh's day after 1601; but after James came to the throne the bells were rung (at least in 1605 and 1606) upon S. James' day, July 25! They were also rung when he came to "Byssome" ‡ in 1604, to "Bustlesham" ‡ in 1605; when he came "through the towne" in 1608, and to "Byssham" ‡ in 1610; when he again came "through the towne" in 1614, and when Charles I. came "thorow y^{e} Towne" in 1646 or 1647.§ Gunpowder plot (Nov. 5) and Oak Apple day (May 28 and 29) were duly celebrated on the bells for many years.

In 1613 appears—"Item paied for mendinge a staple for the staye of the Tenno^{r} wheele, j^{d}." Every bellringer

* Viz.: Barnard Hobbs, the sexton.

† In the account taken 1608 (from which extracts were given above), is a payment of the same amount (viz., 6s. 8d.) for a new wheel for the Treble.

‡ Bisham.

§ The item is in the account taken April, 1647, and may refer to that spring or to the previous year.

knows what the stay and the wheel are, but what the stay *of* the wheel is, or was, is not so clear.

The following is a copy of the "Register of Birth" of the existing Saunce Bell, and of the six inner bells of the octave, of which the Treble (the present *second*) has since been recast, as before stated :—

Disburstments: 1694.

December 17.	To the Bellfounder as ℒ bill appears	02. 03. 05
	To Rich[d] Gibbons for bringing y[e] S[ts] * Bell from Reding... ...	00. 01. 00
	To John Piggott for carrying the Bell to Reding	00. 00. 06
[1695]		
Aprill 3[d]	To Nicholas Cox for taking down and hanging the S[ts] Bell ...	00. 02. 06

Disbursements (for the year ending at Easter, 1721).

Paid at the Three Tunns when with Mr. Phelps at his first comeing ab[t] the Bells		00: 11: 6

"Anno 1720." A subscription list "towards the new-casting the Bells" amounts to £67: 19: 0.

The aforesaid Subscription money disburst as follows (Vizl.) :—

1720			£	*s.*	*d.*
Paid for a part of the articles...	...	...	0:	7:	6
Paid for screws from London	...	...	1:	11:	0
Paid the three Williams's Bellhangers		...	9:	1:	6
Paid Amb. Thompson... ...	...	...	2:	7:	0
Paid Rich[d] Lane	...	...	1:	14:	6
Paid Mr. Phelps	0: 10: 6				
Paid Mr. Phelps, Ap. 29, 1720	20: 0: 0				
Paid Mr. Phelps, May 14, 1720	21: 0: 0				
Paid Mr. Phelps, Dec. 22[d], 1720	5: 5: 0				
Paid Mr. Phelps, July 7, 1721	5: 5: 0				
			52:	0:	6
		Tot.	67:	2:	0
		To Ballance	00:	17:	0
			67:	19:	0

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* Sanctus, or Saunce Bell, now commonly called by the unromantic name of Ting-tang.

Proceedings of the Bucks Architectural and Archæological Society,

For the Year 1884.

The Annual Meeting and Excursion of the members of the Society took place on the 11th August last. The President, his Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, had kindly invited the members to visit Stowe. The programme arranged, however, included visits to places *en route* to the Duke's historical residence; but owing to the short time at the disposal of the members, their investigations were necessarily of a cursory nature. The members and their friends were conveyed to Buckingham by a special train. On reaching the town the members drove to the first halting-place, which proved to be the old Buckingham churchyard. The site of the church which formerly stood there was pointed out, and the visitors hurried on to the church which was built in its stead, and is now the parish church of Buckingham. The Vicar, the Rev. F. G. Kiddle, was present, and displayed great anxiety to explain everything of interest relating to the building, the interior of which was much admired. In the porch were deposited a few local objects of interest from the collection of the late Alderman Harrison, J.P. In the vestry were displayed other objects of interest, including views of the interior and exterior of the present church prior to its restoration. Subsequently, the Vicar, taking up a position in the open air, welcomed the members of the Society, and proceeded to read the following paper :—

"The town of Buckingham is doubtless one of great antiquity. Historians tell us that about A.D. 44 a Roman general under the Emperor Claudius surprised the Britons on the banks of the river Ouse, at or near Buckingham. And further, on the first spreading of Christianity, in the Saxon times, it became remarkable as the burying-place of S. Rumbold, who was born at King's Sutton, November 1st, 626, where he also died, appointing his body to rest there the first year, the next two years at Brackley, and at Buckingham for ever after, where, as the historian and antiquarian (Browne Willis) informs us in his interesting history of the county, a shrine was made for him in the parish church, to which great resort was made by pilgrims, and many miracles are reported to have been wrought by him there.

"The same historian tells us that this town is mentioned in the reign of King Alfred, on his division of the kingdom into shires, when he fixed on this place as the capital of his newly-erected county, and that his son, King Edward the Elder, took up his quarters here A.D. 918, caused two forts to be built and garrisoned on each side of the river Ouse, and then, advancing towards the Danes, struck such terror into them that they were glad to make peace. Subsequently to the survey of Domesday Book, in which mention is made of the town, few records are to be found until of more recent date. Tradition, however, preserves some memories of a castle, and adds, besides, 'a local habitation and a name;' for we have Castle House, Castle Street, Castle Mills, Castle Farm, Castle Fields, and Castle Hill; yet no written record is extant of the building of a castle, nor, as far as I

can ascertain, do any traces of a foundation remain, although we read that in A.D. 1484 Richard III. made a grant to John Grey, of Wilton, of certain moneys 'for the food of the king's hawkes,' secured upon the Castle and Manor of Buckingham. My learned predecessor, the Rev H. Roundell, tells us that the bailiff and burgesses of the Corporation were summoned in King Edward III.'s time to send three representatives to the Council of Trade held at Westminster by that prince; and in Henry VII.'s time the county weights and measures were ordered by Act of Parliament to be kept here. He informs us also that the gaol delivery of felons and all county business was transacted here until (as it was supposed), by the influence of Chief Justice Baldwin, a native of Aylesbury, the assizes were removed to that town during the reign of Henry VIII.

"In 1553, Queen Mary granted a charter of incorporation to this borough. A second charter, with increased privileges, was granted by Charles II., A.D. 1684, under the authority of which the government of the borough was conducted until the new Corporation Act came into force in 1835.

"The year 1568 is memorable in the annals of our town from the fact that, on the 25th day of August (as we learn from a mem. in the Corporation Book of that date), 'the high and mighty Princess, Queen Elizabeth, came in progress to the Burrow of Buckingham, and at the utmost part of the limits of the liberties of the said Burrow . . . the Bayliff and the 12 principal Burgesses of the said Burrow made their most humble submission and received her Grace. Whereupon her Highness did admit the said Bayliff to be her Chamberlain within the said Burrow by delivering him one white wand. And to pay proper honour to the said Burrow her Majesty had, in a most triumphant manner, her sword royal and maces borne, and trumpets blowne, until she came to the mansion house of the Rector or Prebendary of the said Burrow, where her Highness rested dinner time; and after dinner ended her Grace proceeded forward to the town of Bicester.'

"During the civil wars of the seventeenth century, Buckingham, unlike all the other towns in the country, refused to espouse the side of the Parliament; and from a document in the Bodleian Library we learn that 'this corporation preserved its integrity and was eminently serviceable in assisting the University and City of Oxford, which were the chief support and assistance of King Charles I.'

"Time will not allow us to quote from the interesting records which are preserved to us of this time, and we pass on to mention the great fire of 1725. In a handbill circulated at the time, it was stated that 138 dwelling-houses, and a great many barns and stables and other out-buildings, were totally destroyed, and that the loss, over and above all money recovered from any insurance office whatsoever, amounted to £32,682 13s. 6d. Unhappily for the appearance of the town, the Corporation did not apply for an Act of Parliament whereby the rebuilding of the houses would be regulated—a step strongly urged by Browne Willis, of Whaddon Hall, to whom we have already referred. The mention of this name induces me to quote once again Mr. Roundell's words. Mr. Willis, he says, 'must ever be reckoned among the best friends Buckingham ever had. By his exertions a large sum of money, of which he contributed the major part himself, was expended on the repair of the church tower, the spire of which had fallen down on the 7th February, 1699. He originated the plan for building the present gaol, of which he witnessed the completion by Lord Cobham. He procured the restoration of the assizes to Buckingham, strenuously resisted an intended removal of them to Aylesbury, and persuaded both the Bishop of Lincoln and the Archdeacon of Buckingham to hold their visitations here. Indeed, he devoted his best energies through fully half a century to restore to Buckingham its ancient honours.'"

After this sketch of the town, attention was called to the Church, the Latin School, and Castle House.

"The Church.

"The old Parish Church of the town stood in the old churchyard, the entire length of the building being 163 feet, and consisted of chancel, nave, and side aisles, with two large transepts and a square tower, supporting a spire of wood covered with lead. If the engravings extant of this church are correctly drawn, the date of tower, spire, and nave may be attributed to the thirteenth century. The chancel was built by John Ruding, Archdeacon of Lincoln, upon his appointment to the Prebend of Buckingham, in 1471, of which date also we have preserved to us a MS. Latin Bible, presented to the church by him, and which, through the liberality of Mrs. Roundell, has once again come into our possession. On February 7th, 1699, the tall wooden spire was blown down in a gale of wind, but no material damage was done to the rest of the building. In 1753 the tower was raised in height about 24 ft.; but the increased weight of masonry proved too great for the old piers which supported it, and on March 26th, 1776, the fall of the tower took place only a few minutes after the ringers had left it. The only articles now preserved to us of this church are the brass chandelier given by Browne Willis, 1705, the vestry chest, the Communion plate, bearing date 1639, and the Parish Registers, commencing 1561. At the request of the town, Earl Verney gave a site on Castle Hill for a new church, and upon the payment of £4,000, raised upon the security of the poor-rates and the assignment of the old materials of the former church, Earl Temple undertook to build the present edifice, the first stone whereof was laid November 25th, 1777, and the building consecrated by the Bishop of Lincoln, December 6th, 1781; but from the present appearance of the church we should with difficulty picture to ourselves the building of which I am speaking. My immediate predecessor, the Rev. W. F. Norris, now Rector of Witney, says, when he succeeded to the vicarage in 1862 he found the church much out of repair. There were sixteen large cracks in the walls, indicating the faulty construction of the windows and scamped foundations, and that the church was altogether in so dilapidated a condition as to be unfit for its purpose. Sir G. Scott designed a method of support by buttresses and a general remodelling of the exterior and interior, and after a period of twenty years the work has just been concluded, at a cost of about £10,000, exclusive of the vestry and organ chamber, the gift of the Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard, M.P., and of the handsome chancel, which was the gift of the present Duke of Buckingham, and built at a cost of over £2,300, the foundation of which was laid by the lamented Duchess of Buckingham, July, 1865.

"The Royal Latin School,

which is without doubt the oldest building in the town, was erected by Matthew Stratton, Archdeacon of Buckingham, 1260, who dedicated it a chapel to Thomas à Becket, probably in memory of that prelate's visit to Buckingham as Chancellor, 1169. After the lapse of 200 years the building became dilapidated, and the chapel was partially rebuilt by Archdeacon Ruding between 1479 and 1480. After its restoration the building was used as a chantry chapel till 1546, when it was presumably used for the Grammar School founded here by the Royal Commission at that date, in augmentation of a gift of Dame Denton's for the education of six boys in Latin, English, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic. In the lapse of years this chapel became for the second time dilapidated. The roof fell in, and the ground floor was dug up and used as a garden. In 1776 a new roof, constructed principally from the timbers of the old church, was placed upon

the building by Earl Temple, and the chapel used for divine service during the erection of the present church. Since that time it has been again used for educational purposes. It is an interesting building, and will well repay a visit to it.

"Castle House.

"It is only necessary for me to mention that this house was the head-quarters of King Charles I. during his stay in this borough, A.D. 1644. Here it was that the Lady Richardson, mistress of the house, received and paid homage to her sovereign and gave him a hearty welcome, which could only be surpassed by the genial manner in which the present owner and his hospitable wife, Mr. and Mrs. H. Hearn, will welcome any of the members and their friends who will cross the threshold of their door and inspect the dining-room used by that king, which they have so generously thrown open to the members of the Bucks Architectural and Archæological Society."

The paper concluded.

Sir Harry Verney, M.P., said he was sure they all wished to thank the Rev. F. G. Kiddle for his kindness in preparing and reading to them so interesting an essay. It added very much to the pleasure of their visit, and no doubt many of them had learnt from it much with which they were hitherto unacquainted. He thought they might also offer to Mr. Kiddle their most sincere congratulations on the beautiful building which was now his church. It had been, up to lately, a far from interesting building, but now it excited their admiration, and he could not help offering Mr. Kiddle his sincere congratulations upon it. He would also take the opportunity of saying that he hoped on some future occasion Lady Verney and himself would have the happiness of receiving the Bucks Architectural and Archæological Society at Claydon.

The party then proceeded to view the school referred to in his paper by Mr. Kiddle, and admired the traces of Norman work in the exterior of the building. Unfortunately, on account of the keys not being at hand, they were unable to see the interior. From the school the visitors went to Mr. Hearn's interesting residence, where they met with a most hospitable reception. On assembling in "King Charles's room," Mr. Hearn read the subjoined notes on the history of the house:—

"Browne Willis records that in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. this house, called the Castle House, was the seat of John Barton, senior, one of the Knights of the Shire. By his will made in 1431 it passed to John Barton, junior, his brother, and to his sisters Margaret and Isabel. Afterwards it became the property of William Fowler, Richard Fowler, and Edward Fowler successively, the latter of whom entertained Catherine, first Queen of Henry VIII. She received here the news of the victory of Flodden Field, 1513. About the year 1592 one Theophilus Adams successfully claimed the estate, under a grant from the Crown, as having been given to superstitious uses, a sum of £6 13s. 4d. per annum having been charged upon it by John Barton, senior, in favour of a priest who was to celebrate Daily Mass at Barton's Chantry in the Church of Buckingham. The trial is reported at length in Coke's Reports.

"In 1719 (time of James I.) William Lambard and Mary, his wife, were the owners of the property, and made considerable alterations in it. They erected part of the carved mantel over the fire-place in what Browne Willis calls the 'Great Parlour,' and they put up several stones about the premises bearing their initials and the date 1623. They also built a conduit house over S. Rumbold's well, which had then fallen into disrepute as a holy well, and brought the water in leaden pipes half a mile for the service of Castle House and the appurtenant premises.

"After William Lambard's death his widow married Sir Edward Richardson, and in June, 1644, they received Charles I., who sojourned with them four days. A council of war was held during his Majesty's stay here. The details of this visit were fully described by the late Rev. Henry Roundell in an interesting lecture written and delivered by him during the time of his incumbency of the Vicarage of Buckingham.

"The house was greatly altered about the year 1708 (time of Queen Anne) by Mr. Matthias Roger, the then owner, all the front rooms being then rebuilt About the year 1835 the property was purchased by Mr. Thos. Hearn from Mr. Philip Box, the representative of the Irish branch of that family. The house was then quadrangular, but the north side was so dilapidated that upon the advice of Sir Gilbert Scott it was pulled down and the house thrown open to the garden terraces on that side. Nothing further was done to the house until 1881, when, under the direction of Mr. E. Swinfen Harris, as architect, the present occupiers restored the Great Parlour by adding an oak beam to those already spanning the room, and by throwing open the north window, which for a period unknown had been shut off by a partition from the other portion of the apartment. They have also put fresh glass into the two windows on the west side of the room."

At the conclusion of the paper, Canon Evetts, on behalf of those present, thanked Mr. Hearn for his cordial reception of the members of the Society, and also for his interesting annotations.

The members then drove to Maidsmoreton.

The Rev. R. H. Pigott, one of the hon. secs. of the Society, read a few extracts from Lipscombe, in the church, and remarked that its founders appeared to have been two maiden ladies, whose names were variously spelt, although it was believed that the correct rendering was Peover.

The church is a handsome structure in the Perpendicular style, consisting of a nave, with two porches, a chancel, and a beautiful embattled tower at the west end. The tower has angular buttresses, and a curious doorway in the west side, under a projecting panelled battlement, which is supported by rich fan tracery, springing from the jamb-mouldings. In the upper story of the tower are four large and lofty windows, with cinquefoil heads, under a pointed arch decorated with a moulding, a very strong angular mullion dividing each window vertically. At the north-west angle is a very singularly arranged stair turret, embattled. The north porch is in two bays, with rich fan tracery on the ceiling, and a fine oak door, with rich panelling. On the south side of the chancel is a range of three stone stalls of equal height, having a demi-octagonal canopy divided into compartments, arranged in regular series of trefoiled arches with transverse mullions; between each stall is a clustered column with pinnacles and lofty finial. The canopy is divided into three portions over each stall, forming a lofty bracket arch with cinquefoil border richly carved, and terminating above in a beautifully flowered finial. Fragments of stained glass remain in the windows; and there are numerous objects of interest in the church, including some quaintly-worded inscriptions, and a parish register with entries of a strong Royalist tendency, made during the time of civil strife in England, and on the restoration of Charles II.

The Rev. R. H. Pigott having drawn attention to the characteristics of the building, added that the tracery already referred to had a similarity to that in Hillesden Church, both of which churches had been damaged during the Civil Wars.

Mr. E. Swinfen Harris, in the course of some observations, said the tower was almost identical with those to be seen in West Brittany, and there was some possibility that the mediæval architect of Maidsmoreton Church had seen churches there.

In entering the church, the visitors noticed the date 1637 over the

porch, and inside they read the inscription, "Sisters and maids, daughters of the Lord Pruet, the pious and munificent founders of this church." Interest was also manifested in the epitaph on a tablet to the memory of the Honourable Penelope Verney :—

> "Underneath this stone doth lie
> As much virtue as could die,
> Which when alive did virtue give
> To as much beauty as could live."

The next drive took the members through Akeley, towards Lillingstone Dayrell, where the church was to have been inspected, but on account of the lateness of the hour, the party pushed on to Stowe. Passing through Stowe Park, the visitors were welcomed at the mansion by his Grace, the President, and Lady Mary Grenville, with much kindness and urbanity. There was a short delay, during which a hasty observation was made of the hall, with its finely painted ceiling, by Kent, representing the seven planets allegorically, Mars, the principal or ruling one, being a likeness of King William III. presenting a sword to Field-Marshal Viscount Cobham, in allusion to the command of a regiment conferred upon him by that sovereign. The company then passed into the saloon, a magnificent oval-shaped apartment, with a domed roof, a cornice of the Doric order, with masks, Bacchantes, and Satyrs, and an attic supporting an alto-relievo, consisting of more than three hundred figures, designed and executed by Valdré. The figures, most of which are nearly four feet high, are blended with various trophies, spoils, and animals, and disposed so as to represent a triumph or sacrifice. The cornice is supported by sixteen highly-finished scagliola columns, executed by Bartoli, in imitation of jasper ; the bases and capitals are of white marble. In the walls are sixteen compartments, with trophies in bold relief, and in the niches a number of antique statues, in white marble. The company were next ushered into the state drawing-room, another handsome apartment, with a richly gilt ceiling, and containing a number of family and other portraits, and then passed into the state dining-room, where luncheon had been very kindly provided. The dining-room is another very elegant hall, fitted up with Brussels tapestry, representing Triumphs of Bacchus, Venus, Mars, and Diana, while over one of the chimney-pieces (which are of Sienna and white marble) are carvings of a goddess conducting Learning to Truth, and Mercury leading the Tragic and Comic Muses to Parnassus At each end of the room is a finely carved side-board—on one of them an alabaster plateau, with figures of Niobe and her children, from the original at Florence; on the other a large group, in ormolu, modelled for a fountain, by a Prussian artist. After partaking of his Grace's hospitality, the party adjourned to the south porch, where his Grace, with the aid of manuscript notes, then addressed the members, his observations on the history of Stowe, its gardens, and the neighbourhood, being listened to with great attention. The address is printed in this number of the RECORDS.

The formal business of the Society was next proceeded with, the Rev. R. H. Pigott reading the following Annual Report :—

"Since the last annual meeting, which was held at Beaconsfield, changes have taken place in the executive of the Society, consequent on the resignation of our respected secretary, the Rev. Charles Lowndes. The list of new officers will be found in the current number of the RECORDS.

"The Library, together with the contents of the Museum, are about to undergo a thorough re-arrangement under the care of Mr. Gibbs, the hon. librarian, who will be assisted by the Rev. E. K. Clay, of Great Kimble, and a revised catalogue of both books and objects in the rooms of the Society will be prepared for publication.

"It is to be regretted that but few additions have of late been made either to the Library or the Museum; it is hoped that the claims of the Society, being so thoroughly of a local character, will not be overlooked, and that it will be borne in mind the Museum is a depository for any 'finds' which may be classed among specimens, and which may be discovered in the county.

"Three meetings have been held in the Society's rooms since the annual meeting of last year, simply for business transactions connected with the Society—one to consider the appointment of new officers, a second to ratify the appointments made, and a third for the introduction of new members.

"The Society now records upwards of 200 members, a number sufficient to place it in a position of local influence and usefulness for the objects it has in view.

"An additional number of the RECORDS of the Society has just been issued to members, being the 6th part of vol. 5.

"The early numbers of the Society's publications have become very scarce; several members are desirous of obtaining them. The Society is in possession of duplicate copies of some parts of its RECORDS which the Committee would be willing to dispose of to members requiring them, application for which should be made to the Librarian.

"The rooms of the Society have lately been repaired and improved by the Trustees of Bedford's Charity, the landlords; but some further trifling repairs to bookcases, locks, etc., are required, and some bookshelves are needed. These additions and repairs the Committee recommend to be carried out under the care of the Librarian.

"As the library consists mainly of works of reference, the Committee do not think it desirable that Books should be allowed to be taken from the room. Every facility, however, will be given to readers desirous of making extracts from the Society's books. The Committee, at the same time, do not wish to make this rule absolute, and will, in exceptional cases, allow works to be taken under special arrangement with the Librarian."

The President's kindness and hospitality were warmly acknowledged by the Hon. T. F. Fremantle, M.P., and the Rev. R. H. Pigott, on behalf of the Society.

His Grace then led the way to various objects of interest in the grounds, till the time arrived for the members and their friends to take their homeward journey.

CLAYDON HOUSE.

By Lady Verney.

The house at Claydon is spoken of as having been rebuilt in the reign of Henry VII., but there had been an "ancient seat" on the spot in the days of the De la Zouches and Cantelupes, from whose descendants Sir Ralph Verney, Lord Mayor of London in 1465, and M.P. for London in 1472, acquired the property. He was a strong Yorkist, and was knighted by Edward IV. for his loyalty to the White Rose—the "party of progress," says Mr. Bruce. He received large grants of forfeited lands from the King, "considering the good and gratuitous service he had rendered him."

A pencil sketch exists, of uncertain date, representing at least one phase of the old building, with gables in "corbel steps." Its lines were framed on the initial letter of the King's name, as was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. H during the reign of the Henry's; E during that of Edward, and Elizabeth; while the fashion seems to have lasted into the reign of James I. Although added to, altered, and almost transmogrified, the form of the ancient Manor House may still be traced at the core of the present building.

The central narrow part, which joins the two blocks, |=|, consisted, until five-and-thirty years ago, of two rows of rooms, back to back, so that the ends of the house could only be reached by passing through a whole suite; passages were unknown at that period of architecture, none of the walls were at right angles, the floors rose and fell again in the same room three or four inches in level—it was like walking over a ridge in a ploughed field, and a ceiling varied in height as much as six inches in a length of thirty feet.

In the centre of the house a great chimney with open corners belonged to the hall kitchen, in which, when the house was repaired, a small chamber of concealment was found, in which ten men could stand, a "priest's hole,"

as it is sometimes called, or a "conveyance,"* the secret of which had been so kept as to be altogether forgotten. Such hiding places often existed known only to the owner of a house and his eldest son, and handed down with solemn secrecy to the next generation. In this case it was ingeniously masked by a blind passage in the middle story, and must have been entered by a trap door in the muniment room above at the top of the house, where, too, was a concealed door into a small private stair, long ago destroyed, though some of the stone heads of the steps could still be traced, which communicated directly with the cellars, so that if pursued, a man might retire *up* the public stairs, and then escape down the secret stair, finding his way out by a door less likely to be guarded than the other issues. It was a curious illustration of the probable origin of half the ghost stories, *de rigueur* in old houses, that this room, where all prying investigations must have been discouraged to the utmost, was the haunted chamber of the place. The particular apparition most likely varied with the period, but Sir Edmund Verney, the Knight Marshall, as the most marked man of the family, was the one whose appearance had survived up to the present day; he was supposed to be always looking for his hand, which had been severed from his body at the battle of Edgehill, where, according to the tradition, it had been found, with a ring containing Charles I.'s picture upon it, still holding the King's standard, though the body itself was lost.

The estate of Claydon comprised the chief part of the manors of the four Claydons (with their three churches)—Middel, Est, with Botal (a Saxon word meaning wood), and Stepul. There is a curious little deed dated 1468 in the muniment room, concerning a piece of ground 50 feet by 18, at Steeple Claydon, granted by the Abbot of a convent (Ozeney), which possessed property there, "to the yconomos and parishioners of the vill," to "build a common house for the church and parishioners aforesaid," at a yearly rent of 4d. To the north of the thrashing floor of the rectory of the convent was evidently a sort of little town hall, where public affairs could be dis-

* Two of the Jesuits concerned in the Gunpowder Plot were hid in a similar "conveyance" at a house near Droitwich. They were not found for nine days, when they were starved out.

cussed. Mother Church was wise in her generation, and seems to have felt that as meetings all over Parliamentary England were sure to take place, it was well in every sense that they should be held where her legitimate influence for order and peace could be exercised.

The church at Middle Claydon is "good fourteenth work," as Sir Gilbert Scott reported. The house had been let for one hundred years to the Giffards, of whom one, Sir Roger, and Mary Verney, his wife, rebuilt the chancel in 1517. There is a fine brass of them both, with thirteen little sons on one side, at his feet, and eight little daughters at hers. Dignity was expressed by size, as in the frieze of ancient Egyptian temples. In 1535 both house and church seem to have been still in bad repair, and Sir George Giffard, who then held the lease, undertook to rebuild both, if seventy years should be renewed for one hundred. Sir Ralph, the then owner, refused to "do this for nothing," when Giffard offered him a "hunting horse of the value of £30," equal to £300 at least at this time. It was probably a remarkable horse. Sir Ralph, a young man of twenty-three, was tempted by the bait, and agreed to the bargain; the church was repaired and the house rebuilt; "but the Verneys paid dear for the hunter," as Lord Fermanagh writes significantly in the following century. The next heir, Sir Edmund, was elected M.P. for the county of Bucks, and his brother, Sir Francis, for the town, in 1553. The Borough had only begun to return members eight years before, having refused the honour till then, in order to avoid being saddled with the cost of elections, which then were paid for chiefly by the constituencies, an excellent provision of the old time against bribery. Sir Francis was the third member, and a Verney thus represented the Borough in its earliest Parliaments, as another Verney was doing in 1885, 333 years after.

The two young Verneys were engaged in a plot of the Protestant party (called Dudley's Conspiracy), by which Mary Tudor was to have been deposed, and the Princess Elizabeth placed on the throne. It was proved that Francis and one of his cousins "had plighted their troth by breaking a demi-sovereign in two parts, with the consent of the said Edmund, and so the death and final destruction of their Supreme Lady the Queen imagined and

compassed." The inversion of the sentences is curious, the verbs coming at the end, as in German. Several of the conspirators, among them other members of Parliament, were imprisoned and tortured. Edmund was not put on his trial, and received his pardon under the Great Seal of Philip and Mary, now in the muniment room at Claydon, dated 1556. Francis was found guilty, but his punishment was afterwards remitted.

We have only time for a glimpse of the family life in each century. In 1620, Sir Edmund, Knight Marshall, bought back the lease of Claydon, which had still fifteen years to run, for £4,000. The King had promised to help him with the money, but was always in too great straits himself to pay more than £1,000, which he gave at the outset, and Sir Edmund was hampered with the debt to the end of his life. He had been for several years in the household of Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I., whose picture, probably by Miriveldet, hangs at the end of the saloon. At his death, aged nineteen, which took place in 1612, to the great distress of the kingdom, a household was formed for Prince Charles, with whom Sir Edmund remained as Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and Charles after his rather cold fashion seems to have respected and liked the chivalrous, warm-hearted gentleman, "a man (says Clarendon) of great courage, of a very cheerful and generous nature, and confessedly valiant, who served his King faithfully, and having eaten his bread for thirty years," as he said, "would not do so base a thing as to forsake him, but who looked ahead and saw the dangers of the course which his ill-fated master was pursuing." "I do heartily wish the King would yield and consent to what they desire, and choose rather to lose my life, which I am sure I shall do, to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend." "He was as good as his word, and was killed in the battle of Edghill within two months after this discourse," as recorded by Lord Clarendon, with whom he had "great familiarity." Sir Edmund's picture, painted by Van Dyck, with the Knight Marshall staff under it, "was given him by the King at the same time that he gave him his own picture, also by Van Dyck," says an old list. One now hangs over the mantelpiece in the saloon and the other oppo-

site. Sir Edmund and his son Sir Ralph both sat in the Short and again in the Long Parliament together, though on different sides, for Sir Ralph was an earnest Parliamentarian. Though differing on so many points, they were tenderly attached to each other, and were at heart united in all their deepest opinions and feelings, particularly in religious matters. The prominent interest in religious over political questions, even the most absorbing, is extremely remarkable, both in Sir Edmund and Sir Ralph. It was not only that the liberties of England at this time were believed by them to hang as much on one as on the other, but that being men of the world, leading the ordinary life at Court, in Parliament, in business, in war, and sharing in the pleasures and occupations of other men, in town and country, they were among those (and there were many of their class) who truly cared to carry out their ideal of a higher life above all things, though without the smallest pretence of sanctity above their neighbours. "The nobility and gentry of England," says Carlyle, "were then a very strange body of men. The English squire of the seventeenth century clearly appears to have believed in God, not as a figure of speech, but as a very fact, very awful to the heart of the English squire. He wore his Bible doctrine round him as a man wears his shot-belt, and went abroad in it, nothing doubting;" and their wives were as high-minded and pure-hearted as themselves, as may be seen in the letters and papers relating to Margaret wife of Sir Edmund, and Mary the wife of Sir Ralph. "It was a period," Mr. Hallam remarks, "more eminent for steady and scrupulous conscientiousness in private life than any, perhaps, that had gone before or has followed after." Now Edmund, too, as was said of Colonel Hutchinson, had a loving and great courtesy to the poorest, which was already felt to be part of the demeanour of an English gentleman.

After his father's death Sir Ralph had a hard time of it. He was left with the charge of six out of nine brothers and sisters, from twenty-three to nine years of age, dependent upon him. The times were out of joint; hardly any rents were paid, and the debts on the estate were very large. Charles, on the advice of Strafford, had borrowed money, in 1641, from his household and friends, for the expenses

of the war, and Sir Edmund was mulcted of £1,000, which was never returned to him or his heirs. Sir Ralph refused to take the covenant, and in spite of his zeal for the Parliament, was voted out of the House in September, 1646, which, with his keen love of politics, seems to have half-broken his heart; and his estates, and those of his wife, in Bucks, Berks, and Oxford-shires, were sequestered. "Since December I have not had above £90 out of all my estate." He took refuge in France, where he continued eight years, and where his beloved Mary died. An inventory, taken in 1645, of Claydon and its contents, shows that the house must have been a large one, for fifty-three rooms are mentioned, more than there are at present. Probably, however, a great number of them were very small, as almost every one has a chamber or closet within it, without any other issue. The gallery and the inner chamber to it, my lady's chamber and her closet, the little and the great frippery where the clothes were kept. The disorganization of the country is shown by the description of how, since the war, the goods have been removed, to be safely laid up, while the pictures were, many of them, rolled and sent to be warehoused in Holland. There is a fine Vandyck of Lady Carnarvon, a great friend of Sir Edmund's, and one called a Velasquez, of his brother, Sir Francis Verney, which were probably thus treated. Pictures of his brother, Edmund Verney, who had been fighting for the King in Ireland under Lord Ormond, and was killed in cold blood, after the taking of Drogheda, of Sir Harry Lee, his father's friend, commemorated in "Woodstock," a fine head by Cornelius Jansen, hang in the pink parlour and breakfast-room.

At Sir Ralph's return to Claydon, in 1652, all things were set in order by that most methodical of men, and almost the first money he could dispose of was spent in erecting a great monument to his father and his mother, his wife, and himself, with four excellent busts, which he had ordered in Rome during his travels. There is a curious account of the way in which the work was delayed by a Cardinal, who refused to allow the sculptor to go on with the work.

There is another description of the house, at the end of the century, when Sir Ralph, full of years, "loved and

honoured by all who knew him," as his niece writes in 1696, came down to Claydon to die. He drove down from London with four horses, a necessity, for the roads of that time were mere tracks; and he writes once how he was dragged out of a slough of mud by horses from a farm near Aylesbury; he slept at Amersham, and reached home next day for dinner, with his niece, "to whom sweete Claidon and your care are the best cordiall she could take." "He dally gros so very weak, and he has no stomach to his meat," but the kind old man forgets no one. Lady Hobart, wife of Sir Nathaniel, an ancestor of the Earls of Buckinghamshire, thanks him for "delicket venison, the haunch was lofley." His sister, Lady Gardiner, acknowledges the receipt of "a hair and four fine chickings," and next "a fat pigg" (spelling was a rare accomplishment with ladies in the seventeenth century). "I have only been in my fir walk twice or thrice since I came down, but he goes out in y^e^ coch to take the aire all fair days." His son comes down to him with his boy, aged nine, "Little Master," as his grandfather calls him —"the sight of you and your child did much revive him" —"but Sir John is going to be married, and his father begs him not to hurry his return till your occasions, which I know are great, be over." Sir Richard Temple visits him, and says his sons are coming from Stowe to dine, but the old man was too ill to receive them. Lady Rachel Russell tells his sister "shee daily prays for his recovery." "The rector gives them the sacrament," "all his servants are as diligent and careful of him as possible; two have watcht every night all the week." Then comes the end—"at 12 this night he left this miserable world for endless joy." "His Son, Sir John, orders the hall and the best court all round, and the Court porch, to be hung all round with black baize, also the brick parlour, the chairs, and four big tables, the entry to the spiccry," etc. "The rooms looked very handsomely, though the Heavens wept, with all his relation, at his funeral." We are told his picture by Sir Peter Lely, and that of his wife, in blue and white satin, by Vandyck, whose loss he never ceased to lament during the fifty-one years that had elapsed since her death, hang in the saloon side by side.

There is only time for one more glimpse into the

next century. The house had been inhabited by two successive Lord Fermanaghs, the second of whom was created Earl Verney. There is a "conversation piece" of my Lord and my Lady, their two sons, and their two daughters, all sitting in the garden, bolt upright, drinking chocolate, their cups and saucers poised on the tips of their fingers, in a way which it must have required a special education to accomplish, and a black servant in the brown and crimson livery of the family, bringing in a tray. He is mentioned as "Perigrine Siam, a Moor of Guinea, brought over when six years of age by Mr. John Verney," who had been out with a merchant, Aleppo. Ralph, the second son, who, after his elder brother's death, in 1752, who left a posthumous child, afterwards Lady Fermanagh, was the last male heir in the direct line. He was a man of magnificent instincts, a great deal of taste and knowledge and boundless extravagance; he fought the county in the Whig interests, put in Burke for Wendover, with whom there is a not very satisfactory correspondence, bought up land, rebuilt the house, collected books, rare editions, splendid furniture, (one bedroom was furnished all with silver), sent for a mantelpiece from Italy, with a lovely wreath of ten babies, the size of life; the carvings in his new rooms were beautiful in design and execution, the mouldings in each different, the ceilings in wood, and inlaid work, wonderful in their variety and excellence. He employed Adams, the best architect of the period, under whom the decorations were executed by Italian workmen. He seems to have had a passion for perfection in his works. The central hall has a staircase, each step inlaid like a marquiterre table, and he tried three or four styles of pierced work for the balustrades in different woods, which we all found used in the pig-sty and in the ox-house. At last he fixed upon a lovely pattern in bronze, of scrolls, with wreaths of wheat, etc., "which rustle as you pass," according to an old guide book. "He was lavish and fond of show," says Browne Willis, "using the splendour of a gorgeous equipage with musicians constantly attendant on him, not only on state occasions, but on his journeys and visits. A brace of tall negroes, with silver French horns, behind his coach and six, perpetually making a noise, like Sir Henry Sidney's Trompeters in

the days of Elizabeth, "blowing very joyfully to behold and see." He contested the county three times with the House of Grenville, and voted against the American War in 1780, when Ministers were defeated. The Court influence after this was against him, and he was beaten in 1784, by very few votes, and petitioned, but gave up the struggle, finding that he had no chance of success. He was again elected in 1790 for Bucks, and died in the following year, ruined by Parliamentary contests, and by the expense of building his unfinished home.

He was succeeded by his niece Mary, aged 57, who inherited the entailed part of the estate. She pulled down the great central hall and the ball-room, 100 feet long, still leaving a very large house. She died unmarried, last of the direct line. Her kindly but shrewd face, in a mob cap, with a great blue bow, looks benignantly down from a good picture in the breakfast room, by Abbott. She left Claydon to her half-sister, the difference between the character of the two being expressed by the popular account—"My Lady used to ride upon a pillion behind her coachman (it was still preserved until lately), but Mrs. Verney always rode upon the single horse."

The Verneys were a very Parliamentary family, and represented the county and five of its boroughs eighteen times, always on what would now be called the Liberal side, so that the history of England of the period in a small way may be said to be found in the letters and papers of the twelve successive generations still in the muniment room at Claydon, and are above thirty thousand in number.

NOTES ON MR. ROBERT GIBBS'S "HISTORY OF AYLESBURY."*

BY JOHN PARKER, F.S.A.

When the history of a county town appears, it is always an event which excites a marked interest to those who live within or near the borders of the shire, and whose tastes, though perhaps not strictly archæological, lead them to desire a fuller knowledge of the spot which gave life to, and was, as it were, the heart of the surrounding district. Its foundation, its names, its vicissitudes, its worthies, each and all have an attraction of no ordinary character; and we owe a debt of gratitude to every contributor to the stock of knowledge of the annals of our old towns, which gradually accumulates through the labours of intelligent research. It would be a serious omission, if "The Records" of the Bucks Archæological Society did not specially notice the publication of "The History of Aylesbury," by Mr. Robert Gibbs, completed during the past year.

Although Buckingham, one of the four important towns of early British history, was the chief town of this county for centuries, implied by the name of the county itself, Aylesbury, another of those four British towns, also occupied from a remote period a very prominent position. It was the centre of a valley famed for its rich pasturage, it stands on a commanding spot, which attracted the attention of our early kings. Thither, as *Kingsbury* implies, the Anglo-Saxon monarch, after the Briton had been finally driven from its hold, established himself, cleared the forests, and fixed his homestead.

The name of Aylesbury is one of the first points of interest, and Mr. Gibbs gives us no less than fifty-seven variations of the name, as on record. Looking to the situation of the town, with the church standing on the central elevated spot, it is most probable that it derives its name from the word *Eglwys*, or church, which crowned the rising ground and commanded the district

* "A History of Aylesbury, with its Borough and Hundreds and Hamlet of Walton," by Robert Gibbs. 1885.

WINDOW TO KING'S HEAD INN, AYLESBURY.

for many a league. That there had been a church from early times is still traced in the crypt under the Lady Chapel. Mr. Gibbs remarks of it :—"It is not impossible that it may have been the very site of the Saxon building where St. Osyth is said to have been buried in the ninth century" (Hist. of Aylesbury, p. 46.) After mentioning that one prominent arch is unhesitatingly pronounced to be Saxon,* Mr. Gibbs continues :—"Two of the arches form, in point of fact, the supports of the Lady Chapel, and one on the south side is immediately under the piscina and sedilia of the chapel. The ancient stone steps leading from the church were found in the west end of the crypt, and were uncovered, as far as possible, without encroaching on the south transept" (*Ib.* p. 46).

Whilst considering the site of the Parish Church, it will be interesting to dwell upon the importance of the situation in early times. In the churchyard, we are told, that "Even as late as at the commencement of the present century, it was usual to hold the borough elections in the churchyard. The candidates, their nominators and seconders, one after another, mounted an old tomb (now removed) to address the constituents. When no contest followed, the proceedings ended here; but in the case of a poll, an adjournment was made to the County Hall, where the subsequent proceedings were held. The nominations at the contested election of 1802 were made on this old tomb; this was the last occasion, as after the addition of the Hundreds in 1804, the election no longer a town matter only, all the proceedings were transferred to the County Hall" (*Ib.* p. 53).

Mr. Gibbs has hit upon the clue to these strange election customs; at all events, there is every appearance of his inference being correct. Now the churchyard is hidden away by houses and buildings, but in early times, we may imagine that it was a position on rising ground, where an assembly might well collect, being near to the sacred edifice, and at the centre of the community. I quote from Mr. Gibbs :—

"Referring to the place of the churchyard, where

* Sir Gilbert Scott, in his Report of this Church, speaks of the existence of an earlier building, but attributes it to the Norman age; in fact, of the date of the present font.

the town elections were formerly held, a thought arises as to why they took place on that particular spot. Considering that it was in the part of the churchyard where the cross at one time probably stood, it may be assumed that the churchyard cross was the usual and ancient place of meeting for transacting town business, and notwithstanding that the cross had disappeared, either through age or ill-treatment, old associations led to the continuance of the custom for the inhabitants to assemble there, as in the days of their forefathers" (*Ib.* p. 55).

There can be no doubt that, not only at the Market Cross, but at crosses within the sacred precincts of the church, assemblies were held by our forefathers for transacting business of importance to the community. As an instance, we find that the wardmote, or folkmote, being a meeting together by summons of all the inhabitants of a ward with the mayor and aldermen, was held in the City of London, at Saint Paul's Cross.*

The Church of Aylesbury, with its beautiful specimens of Early English and Perpendicular work, so judiciously restored by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, through the exertions of the townspeople, under the able leadership of the present Dean of Lichfield, needs no description to readers at all acquainted with the principal churches of Bucks; but when we contemplate its present beauty and its state in 1848, as described in the history before us, and in the Report of Sir Gilbert Scott, to which reference is made, we may well wonder that the fabric itself has been preserved to us. We are told that before the restoration only the nave and chapels, with the galleries, were used for public worship, and that these parts were partitioned off from the transepts and the chancel. The south transept was partially devoted to the purposes of the Fire Brigade, where the fire engines and their accompaniments were deposited; in other respects this important part of the church was the receptacle for lumber. But what will be our reflections, when we discover, that "in the early part of the present century the church was used as a gunpowder magazine"? That "in the times of the French war, the stock of gunpowder required for

* "Liber Albas"—The White Book of the City of London, by H. T. Riley. P. 92.

the local regiments was stored for safety in the innermost parts of the parish church"? (*Ib.* p. 25).* In his report Scott, too, speaks of an universal failure of the foundations of the building. Nothing, indeed, could have been more serious than the condition of the fabric, when its restoration was contemplated; and, as we reflect upon what has been accomplished, we may well acknowledge the debt of gratitude that is owing to the restorer.

Before leaving the ecclesiastical side of the history of Aylesbury, we should not omit to notice that a Monastery of Grey Friars was founded in the town by James Butler, third Earl of Ormonde, the Lord of the Manor, in 1386; a figure in alabaster, deposited in the church, has been supposed to represent the effigy of the founder, though such a supposition is more than doubtful. Mr. Gibbs informs us of the report of Dr. John London, one of the Commissioners employed at the dissolution of the monasteries, as to the monastery at Aylesbury.

"He says he found them (the monks) poor and in debt, their ornaments very coarse, and there was very little stuff in household there; he left the house whole, and only defaced the church there. . . .

"The house is stated to have been a large building,

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* The following copy of a warrant to remove the stock of powder to some other place of safety verifies the statement quoted:—

On His Majesty's Service.

Royal Arsenal, Woolwich,
10th March, 1806.

Sir,—I have received your letter of the 6th instant representing that the ammunition deposited in the infirmary belonging to the prison has been removed into the church at Aylesbury, until a proper place can be obtained, and which was done in consequence of a dangerous fever having broke out among the prisoners, and the infirmary was required by the magistrates for the accommodation of such as are infected, and requesting to receive instructions thereon. In reply thereto I am to desire that you will look out for a proper place where the ammunition can be deposited, the rent of which, with any information you may have to offer thereon, you will communicate to me for the approbation of Lieut.-General Farrington, commanding the field train of artillery in Great Britain, but that you are not to engage a storehouse until the sanction of the general is obtained.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
Thos. Gibson,
Commissary.

Mr. William Cross,
Conductory of Ordnance Stores,
Aylesbury.

and was inhabited by upwards of sixty monks, but at the time of the Reformation there were only seven or eight" (*Ib.* p. 85).

On the death of Edward VI., Aylesbury was loyal to the cause of Mary as the rightful successor to the throne, and this aid seems to have induced her in 1554, the first year of her reign, to grant the town a Charter of Incorporation. In this charter the rebellion of John, Duke of Northumberland, is referred to, and the adherence of the inhabitants to the Queen is recited, and is assigned as the reason for the granting of the charter to the town. But the royal favour does not seem to have been long appreciated, as the charter appears to have soon become a dead letter. Browne Willis is probably right in the reason he conjectures for the collapse of this municipal institution. He refers it primarily to the burden of paying their representatives, and the willingness of the family of Pakington, who held the Manor, to acquit the burgesses of this burden, on condition that they, the Pakingtons, had the nomination of the representatives at their disposal.

When the representation was virtually out of the hands of the Corporation, it is more than probable that the interest in maintaining corporate privileges died out by sheer neglect and indifference. The right, therefore, of sending two burgesses to Parliament, whether elected by the choice of the inhabitants, or at the nomination of the Lords of the Manor, was all that remained to tell of royal favour as the result of the people's loyalty.

The past history of a town is generally in no slight degree indebted to the muniments of the Corporation, and when they have been as carefully preserved as those, for instance, of the City of London, they present an historical monument of the greatest importance. The historian of Aylesbury must labour under considerable disadvantage, as there are absolutely no records of the municipal proceedings of this town; and when we turn to the chief Manor of Aylesbury in the hopes of gaining knowledge from that quarter, we are reminded that the Court Rolls afforded no information to Mr. Gibbs at the time he compiled his history. It has been only within a very short period that a Roll of this Manor of the time of Henry VII. has been brought to light, which discloses

much of provincial manners of interest and historical value.

The parliamentary history of Aylesbury from the creation of the borough to the end of James I.'s reign, may be summed up as a record of the selection of representatives under royal influence, or on the nomination of the Lords of the Manor, with intervals when no returns were made, as after the parliament of 1555. In the earlier periods of our history, as Mr. Gibbs points out, when a parliament might be summoned to any part of the kingdom at the caprice of kings, the travelling expenses of the knights of the shire, and the burgesses from the towns, were considerable, and it was the practice for the counties and boroughs to allow wages to members of parliament; these payments, therefore, pressed heavily on the electors of small boroughs, and "many boroughs petitioned to be exempt altogether from what they thought an onerous duty and an expensive mode of representation." To this cause must be attributed the frequent neglect of sending burgesses to parliament, before the times when the liberty of the subject had raised the importance of a seat in the House of Commons.

Space will not allow any more than a passing comment on the representatives for Aylesbury. In James I.'s last parliament Sir Thomas Crewe, the member for the borough, filled the office of Speaker of the House. The Pakingtons, the Lords of the Manor, and their connections, occupy a large space in the list of its members. Mr. Gibbs gives an interesting account of the Verney family, whose name is still an honoured one with us, as associated with the public offices of Buckinghamshire, and particularly of Sir Edmund Verney, Knight, who, in Charles I.'s reign, was elected member for the borough by the inhabitants, the constables of the Manor being the returning officers. This Sir Edmund seems to have combined a spirit of conscientious loyalty with true love of country; he fell fighting in the king's cause at Edgehill, on 23rd October, 1642.

The continuation of the parliamentary history brings before us the state of the Aylesbury district during the Civil War and at the time of the Commonwealth; it was a district that suffered severely. The stations of the king's army were located in several of the adjacent towns and

villages, and the parliamentary forces were quartered in the town itself. Accounts are still preserved of the farmer being deprived of his last horse by the troopers, and of the soldiery wantonly destroying the seed corn for the next year's sowing, thus picturing to us the ruin which must have then prevailed.

The following account of Cromwell's visit to Aylesbury after the battle of Worcester is too interesting to omit:—

"Cromwell on his way from Worcester passed through Aylesbury, on which occasion there were grand proceedings; he travelled with all the pomp and display of a conquering hero. Near Aylesbury he was met by a deputation from the parliament. . . . All the troops in the town and adjacent places were assembled, and a grand military array was formed. The object of the deputation was to offer Cromwell the ardent thanks of the parliament, which had been voted in the House of Commons. Whitelock tells us, that 'Cromwell received the deputation with all kindness and respect. After ceremonies and congratulations had passed, he rode with them across the fields, where Mr. Winwood, the member for Windsor, who was a-hawking, met them, and the Lord General went a little out of the way a-hawking. They then came to Aylesbury, where they had much discourse, especially my Lord St. John, the dark ship money lawyer, now Chief Justice, as they supped together.' 'To me,' continues Whitelock, 'and to each of the others, he gave a horse and two Scotch prisoners. The horse I kept for carrying me; the two Scots, unlucky gentlemen of that country, I handsomely sent home again without any ransom whatever, and also gave them free passes to Scotland.' Next day Cromwell left Aylesbury, and proceeded on his journey towards London, driving before him some four or five thousand prisoners like a flock of sheep" (*Ib.* pp. 175, 176).

Amongst the regicides were the two members for Aylesbury, Thomas Scot and Simon Mayne, who at the Restoration were excepted from the act of free pardon; we have an account of their trial and their fate. Mr. Gibbs thus sums up the misfortunes of some of the members for the town during these times:—

"The careers of the representatives of Aylesbury at this period ended sadly and unfortunately. Sir Edmund

Verney fell at the battle of Edgehill, and Sir John Pakington" (a Royalist, and the Lord of the Manor) "was imprisoned in the Tower of London, his property confiscated, and his mansion at Aylesbury destroyed. Ralph Verney was ejected from the House of Commons by a very unjust and ungracious proceeding. Scot underwent the cruel death of a traitor at Charing Cross; and Mayne died a State prisoner at the Tower, very narrowly escaping the like punishment awarded to his coadjutor Scot" (*Ib.* p. 184).

The franchise of the borough we find in the time of William III. was in the hands of the Commonality, consisting of householders and "potwallers," a term used for persons who lodged in a portion of a house, and boiled their own "pot." We are told that

"There were at this time no lists of voters to guide the returning officers in taking the poll. All they had to take note of was, that the person tendering his vote had not received parochial relief during the year prior to the election, and that he had also been in occupation during the required term. The only document with which the officers were supplied was the overseer's pauper pay list" (*Ib.* p. 196).

This loose mode of ascertaining the qualification of the voters led to the inevitable result of disputed claims. The rejection of the vote of Matthew Ashby for Sir Thomas Lee and Mr. Simon Mayne, at the election which took place in the twelfth year of William III.'s reign, rises to the importance of an historical incident. Mr. Gibbs gives us in detail the fortunes of the litigation of this Ashby, backed up, as he is supposed to have been, by Lord Wharton against the returning officers; the case is known as that of Ashby *v.* White. He traces it from the Bucks Assizes to the Court of King's Bench, then to the House of Lords, brought to that House by Writ of Error, where judgment was given for Ashby. Next we find the House of Commons interfering, resolving that that House alone had jurisdiction to determine the rights of the electors and elected; this occasioned a difference with the House of Lords, the Lords considering that the course taken by the Commons was assuming a power to control the law of the land. At the commencement of Queen Anne's reign the case of Ashby *v.* White is

again resumed, and, emboldened by the success of Ashby, five more electors of Aylesbury commenced actions of a similar character, for the purpose of confronting the Commons. Their temerity was rewarded by warrants being issued for their committal to Newgate; then we have another Writ of Error, and a petition to the House of Lords, next an address of the Commons to the Queen, then conferences between the Lords and Commons, with no amicable results. To quote "The History of Aylesbury".—"At last the conference broke off very abruptly, and as the Commons had addressed her Majesty not to grant a Writ of Error, the Lords drew up an address and statement of the case, and requested her Majesty to give effectual orders for the immediate issuing of Writs of Error, in which address her Majesty answered, 'My Lords, I should have granted the Writs of Error in this address; but finding an absolute necessity of immediately putting an end to this Session, I am sensible there could have been no further proceedings in that matter.' There is no doubt but that the Aylesbury case broke up the Parliament" (*Ib.* p. 206).

The prisoners were liberated, no Writ of Error was granted, and Lords and Commons and the Aylesbury electors seem to have been at length satisfied, as, in the words of Mr. Gibbs, "The matter has slept ever since." Bishop Burnet, in the "Memoirs of His Own Time," refers to this remarkable case of Ashby *v.* White, in which he severely criticises the conduct of the returning officers. Unfortunately, we are not furnished with the precise reference in his work to this lengthy contention; but Burnet's allusion to the case fully justifies the prominence given to it in the history before us.

It was to be expected that in an account of Aylesbury, John Wilkes, who was at one time a resident, and its representative in 1757, and again in 1761, should be prominently noticed. About seventy letters from Wilkes to a Mr. John Dell, an inhabitant of the town, give materials which are valuable in throwing further light on the character of a remarkable man.

Just two extracts from his letters to Mr. Dell on the eve of his first election, will disclose the state of the borough at this period.

"St. James's Place, *June 22nd*, (no year).

"DEAR DELL,—I have been this morning with Potter, and he entirely relinquishes to me your good borough. . . . I am determined to offer my services, and will give two guineas per man, with the promise of whatever any one else offers. . . If you think two guineas not enough I will offer three or even five to be secure.

"Dear Dell, your sincere friend,

"JOHN WILKES."

"Next day," Mr. Gibbs tells us, "another note arrives, saying that Charles Lowndes recommends three guineas per man. 'If you are of the same opinion don't hesitate. . . . I am determined to carry my point. Be attentive to every whisper'" (*Ib.* p. 220).

The corruption of the constituency attained an unenviable notoriety at the election of Mr. Bent, a West Indian merchant, who seems to have been a stranger to Aylesbury, but to have possessed the requisite qualification "of a long purse." As a faithful narrator, Mr. Gibbs gives a curious as well as instructive picture of the elections at the county town. In order to convey a general impression of the elections at this period, he says:—

"So open was it" (bribery) "that the town crier was often engaged to announce that Mr. So and So's 'benevolences' would be distributed at such a time and such a place; the free and independent electors would then flock in crowds to receive money from every party. . . . It was no unusual circumstance for a 'potwaller' to make £15 or £20 of his vote, not hesitating for a moment to levy 'black mail' on all candidates, many or few" (*Ib.* p. 249).

It took two days to poll 453 votes at the election of 1802, when Mr. Bent was returned with Mr. Dupre, the latter heading the poll. But no sooner was the poll declared than a petition was lodged against the return of Mr. Bent, "which created such alarm amongst his party, that several of the leaders made themselves scarce for a long time, fearing to be served with a Speaker's warrant."

The evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons must have been far from edifying, judging from the following specimen:—

"John Wilson, the whitesmith, so prevaricated that he was committed to Newgate for contempt, and re-examined next day, when his recollection was found to be much improved. Neale the banker stated that actions against him arising out of this election were pending, amounting to £47,000, and he should not criminate himself. John Toms told the Committee that he thought that out of the 450 voters 400 took money, and the other 50 gave it away. All the witnesses gave a similar description of the proceedings at the distribution at the inns. Two bowls stood on a table in a large room, one containing guineas and the other punch; the presiding representatives of the candidate referred to a list of names, and if such list showed that the applicant had been free from parish relief for a year he was entitled to vote. Three guineas were then given to him and a glass of punch" (*Ib.* p. 253).

This state of corruption was too flagrant even for those times, and the report of the Election Committee resulted in the Act of Parliament which enlarged the constituency to the three Hundreds of Aylesbury.

In passing from the parliamentary history of the borough, it would be an omission not to mention the name of Lord Nugent, the accomplished author of "The Memorials of John Hampden," who represented Aylesbury from 1812 to 1832, and again from 1847 till his death.

In treating of the early history of Aylesbury, its Manors form of themselves a subject of much interest. The paramount Manor belonged to the Crown, till the time of King John, who granted it to Geofrey Fitz Piers, the Lord Justiciary of England. To trace its possessors onwards through the families of the Botelers, Earls of Ormond, most of them foremost men of their times, and the Pakingtons, still conspicuously known in Worcestershire, would occupy far more space than can now be bestowed on the subject; but it may be that on some future occasion the history of this Manor and of its lords will, as it deserves, be separately written for the pages of these RECORDS.

The next subject in the volume before us is that of the parish registers. "A good excuse," says Mr. Gibbs, "might be made for any omissions in the Aylesbury

register, as in the time of the Civil Wars the Rev. John Barton, the vicar, was for his loyalty imprisoned in the Gatehouse for a considerable time" (*Ib.* p. 338). Yet we learn that the registers have been "well kept, and are in an excellent state of preservation." The first volume is occupied with the period from 1564 to 1653.

These registers afford, as we might have anticipated, abundant sources of information of antiquarian interest. To give a few instances—we have a word about the plague of fortunate significance—"In December 1624 began the great plague, which continued till the end of December 1625, in all which time there died not one in the town of Aylesbury" (*Ib.* p. 343). A singular practice is disclosed of publishing marriages at the market; in 1656 an entry is made of the intended marriage of two country folk from the villages of Winge and Cublington, which was published "three several market days in the market-place at Aylesbury." Then we are reminded of the custom of distributing doles at funerals. At the funeral in 1670 of Mr. Ligo, a local magnate, and who seems to have been a person of public spirit, the doles given consisted of 360 small loaves. The registers, as we might have anticipated in an Assize town, give us a dreary record of the interments, which followed the Assizes, of felons whose crimes would now often meet with light punishments. Passing on, we note another instance of the strange severity of the Criminal Law. "William Darrell, late of Iver, was buried. 'He died in Aylesbury gaol, having been confined there about twenty years for a breach of the peace.'" This occurs in the entries between 1765 and 1770.

The information given from the overseers' accounts is interesting. Such an item of disbursement in 1672 as this is very suggestive:—

	£	s.	d.
"To Robert Paton's Child and goody Leighton's to carry them up to y^e^ King to bee touched	01	06	00"

Among the ancient buildings of Aylesbury the house now known as "the King's Head" Inn presents specimens of domestic work of the Perpendicular period well worthy of inspection. The hall window, an illus-

tration of which accompanies this paper,* is described in detail in the "History of Aylesbury," to which the reader is referred. Mr. Gibbs conjectures that the building itself was erected *temp.* Henry VI., between 1444 and 1450, but no certain account is handed down of its origin and the early use to which it was applied.

Much is told us that is interesting of the gaol; as far back as the reign of Edward III., we are informed, there is proof of its being repaired out of a county fund; it is to be regretted that a reference to the actual proof does not transpire, because this would afford evidence of the importance of Aylesbury as a county town in the days of the Plantagenets. To go no farther back than the days of Howard, we have sufficient indications that the past condition of this prison was deplorable. In his report he says that six or seven prisoners had died of gaol fever at the time of his visit, and we are told that one of its defects was "the utter impossibility of proper classification and separation of the prisoners—convicted and unconvicted—old offenders and comparatively innocent youths were all huddled together" (*Ib.* p. 492).

The accounts of prison life in this volume are at once characteristic and instructive. From the early gaol attention is naturally drawn to the present County Hall, the design for which is ascribed to Sir John Vanbrugh, the architect of Blenheim and Castle Howard. Then we are introduced to some remarkable trials that took place at the Assizes at the county town; though it appears that often, most probably from the state of the roads, the Assizes were held at Little Brickhill, this place being easier of access, and from it other Assize towns in the same circuit were more readily reached. The account of the trial at the Aylesbury Assizes in 1664, of Benjamin Keach, a Baptist preacher residing at Winslow, on the charge of publishing an unorthodox "Primer" for the instruction of children, discloses the intolerance of the times. The presiding judge, Chief Justice Hyde, was evidently strongly biassed against the prisoner. Besides a fine and imprisonment, his punishment was to stand in the pillory

* This window is lithographed in THE RECORDS, Vol. II., between pp. 256 and 257, but this illustration cannot give the details, which are obtained by photography.

at Aylesbury and also at Winslow, where his book was burnt before him by the common hangman.

Among the evidences of the state of society at any period, the mode of punishing the criminal should be reckoned. It is true that among nations far advanced in civilization life has often been held in low estimation; still, even where this has been the case, respect for the dignity of humanity has not been always left out of consideration. When we find degrading punishments, the object of which is not entirely to deter crime, gradually disappear, we are led to infer, that the tone of society is more elevated, and sights, which can only harden and vitiate, are becoming distasteful; so it comes to pass in our own day, that hanging of the criminal is no longer a public exhibition, though there would be some still living, born early in this century, who would remember notorious criminals hung on the gibbet, where they were suffered to remain exposed to the public gaze. Mr. Gibbs, as a true chronicler, has a word to say upon the discontinuance of various punishments which were formerly in use among us. Thus we find that Corbet, for a murder committed at Bierton, "was gibbeted at Bierton in 1773, near the place where he committed the crime, and this is the last gibbet we meet with in Buckinghamshire" (*Ib.* p. 531).

There were two pairs of stocks at Aylesbury; not, as we are told with a natural regard for the reputation of the town, that the drunkenness of the community required both of them, but they were there in consequence of the existence of the two Manors, the principal Manor and that of the rectory, the lord of each of which having to provide stocks. But for forty years and more the stocks have been disused, and the lords have not been called upon to refurbish them. The chief Manor of Aylesbury having "view of frankpledge," as a matter of course, had its trumbrel, or cucking-stool, for the "correction of scolds and unquiet women;" so, too, it must have had its ducking-stool for similar offenders, but when either cucking or ducking-stool was last used must remain in obscurity. It is suggested that the part of the town known as "Duck End," may in its name be a survival of the memory of the ducking-stool, and the conjecture is not without probability.

We have more distinct information about the last

days of the pillory at Aylesbury. It stood somewhere midway between the present Clock Tower and the County Hall. "At the March Assizes of 1810 John Carey Cole was indicted for felony; his trial was postponed in consequence of the absence of an unwilling witness. He was, however, kept in prison until the next Assize in 1811, when he was tried, and sentenced to stand in the pillory in Aylesbury for one hour on a market day, between the hours of twelve and two o'clock, and also to be imprisoned for three years. Cole, unfortunately for himself, was extremely unpopular with the mob, and he suffered for it . . . he was disgracefully used, and left the pillory half dead" (*Ib.* p. 537).

Mr. Gibbs concludes this description of the various punishments inflicted on offenders, with an account of the whipping at the cart's tail in the open streets of the county town. It is not agreeable reading, but, if we are to realize the life of former days, the subject is one that cannot be omitted.

Turning to a more pleasant theme, we are reminded of the sports and pastimes of our forefathers. The May-day customs at the village of Wing in the sixteenth century call to mind the innocent merry-making at a joyous season, the gradual discontinuance of which we must thoroughly deplore.

There are interesting pages, too, on the state of the roads, and the perils of travelling in bygone times, but space will not allow further extracts from Mr. Gibbs's volume. One important omission from the work, which might be supplied in a subsequent edition, is a clear reference to the authorities quoted, in the margin of the page, where a quotation appears; this seems to be a necessary accompaniment to a book bearing on archæological subjects. At the same time, it should be remarked that the systematic way in which each subject is treated, and the facilities afforded to the reader by the heading to each chapter, are all that can be desired.

In concluding these notes, I would only add that in this account of Aylesbury we see the importance of having in the midst of a community a faithful and indefatigable chronicler, whose persevering research has done so much to bring to light the past days of an interesting and historic town.

LIST OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE PRINTS, ETC.

To the Editor of the RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

DEAR MR. PARKER,—It occurs to me that you might care to print in the RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE the following list of rare and curious Prints, Views of Places, Portraits of Persons, and various old and modern Maps, which I myself have collected during the last thirty-five years. The List has been made from the Prints themselves, which are sufficiently described, both as to draughtsman and engraver, to be readily identified.

This is only a portion of my Buckinghamshire Collection of Engravings. On a subsequent occasion, and for a later number, I shall be happy to complete the List.

I am, dear Mr. Parker, yours faithfully,

FREDERICK GEORGE LEE.

ALL SAINTS' VICARAGE, LAMBETH, *9th Nov*, 1885.

View of Aylesbury from Whitchurch. Drawn by John Smith; engraved by William Burn, F.S.A.

S.W. View of Buckingham. Drawn by John Smith; engraved by William Byrne, F.S.A.

Chalfont House in Buckinghamshire, the seat of Thomas Hibbert, Esq. Drawn by Tomkins; engraved by W. Angus.

The Residence of Milton at Chalfont. Engraved by H. G. Watkins.

Chalfont House, Bucks, the Seat of Thomas Hibbert, Esq. Engraved by Busby; published by I. Asperne, 1812.

Cliefden House, Bucks. Drawn by L. Donowell.

Cliefden's Spring. Drawn by S. Ireland; engraved by S. Middiman; published 1785.

View of Cliefden House in Buckinghamshire, the Seat of the Rt. Honble. the Earl of Inchiquin. Published by I. Bew, 1784.

Cliefden House, Buckinghamshire. Engraved by Heath; published by I. Walker, 1792.

View from Cliefden. Published by F. Lloyd, 1820. Drawn by J. Hakewill; engraved by W. B. Cooke.

View of Cliefden. Drawn by Josh. Farington, R.A.; engraved by Wm. Byrne, F.S.A.; published by W. Byrne, 1803.

View of Cookham. Drawn by P. Dewint; engraved by W. B. Cooke; published by W. B. Cooke.

Ditton Park, Buckinghamshire. Drawn by J. P. Neale; engraved by J. C. Varrell; published by J. P. Neale, 1818.

Dropmore, Buckinghamshire. Drawn by J. Buckler; engraved by I. Lewis; published by W. H. Reid, 1818.

Eton, from Windsor Castle. Drawn by W. Weston, A.R.A.; printed by C. Hullmandel; published by Rodwell and Martin, 1821.

Eton College and Chapel, from the Slough Road. Drawn by W. Harvey; engraved by T. A. Prior.

School at Eton College.

Eton Bridge. Drawn by S. Owen; engraved by W. B. Cooke; published by W. B. Cooke, 1815.

Eton. Published by J. and F. Harwood.

In Eton Play-fields. Drawn by J. Hakewill; engraved by D. Byrne.

View of Gothurst, in Buckinghamshire. Engraved by Lodge.

Gregorys, Buckinghamshire. Engraved by Fitler; published by Harrison and Co, 1793.

Harleyford House, Seat of Sir Wm. Clayton, Bart. Drawn by S. Owen; engraved by W. B. Cooke; published by W. B. Cooke, 1819.

Monument to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, at Gothurst, Bucks.

S.E. View of Hanslope Church, Buckingham. Engraver, Jas. Basire.

Memorial Brass, in Ivingo Church, Buckinghamshire. Drawn, engraved, and published by Fisher, 1811.

Decorated Font, Leckhampsted, Bucks. Drawn by F. Simpson, junr.; engraved by R. Roberts; published by S. Prowett, 1826.

Iver Grove, Bucks. Drawn by J. Gendall; published 1824.

A Cottage altered in Langley Park. Coloured Mezzotint.

Langley Park, Buckinghamshire.

Langley Park, Buckinghamshire. Eastgate delineator and sculptor.

View from Marsworth Village, Bucks. Drawn by J. Hassell; published by J. Hassell, 1819.

Great Marlow. Drawn by S. Owen, Esq.; engraved by W. Cooke; published by Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe, 1809.

Marsworth, from the Reservoirs, Bucks. Drawn by J. Hassell; published by Hassell, 1819.

Grammar School at Great Marlow, Bucks.

Great Marlow, Bucks. Engraved by J. Greig, from a drawing by T. Powell.

View of Great Marlow. Drawn by Josh. Farington, R.A.; engraved by Wm. Byrne, F.S.A.; published by W. Byrne, 1803.

Church of Newport, Bucks. Drawn and engraved by J. Storer; published by W. Clarke, 1809.

Maids Morton, Bucks.

Medmenham Abbey, Buckinghamshire. Engraved by J. Smith from a drawing by F. Nash; published by Vernor and Host, 1802.

Sculptures.—Olney Church, Bucks. Drawn and engraved by J. Storer; published by W. Clarke, 1810.

Place House in Horton, Bucks. F. Brerewood pinxit, 1773; engraved by Cook.

Ritchings Park, Buckinghamshire. Eastgate delineator and sculptor.

View from Park Place, Henley-on-Thames.

The Shrubbery, Bucks. Drawn and engraved by J. Storer; published by Vernor and Hood, 1803.

Three Locks, Stoke-Hammond, Bucks. Drawn by J. Hassell; published by J. Hassell, 1819.

Slough Station. Drawn by B. Clayton; engraved by W. Watkins.

Dr. Herschel's Telescope. Drawn by J. Farey; engraved by Lowry; published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1819.

Stoke Park, Buckinghamshire. Drawn by J. P. Neale; engraved by Miss E. Byrne; published by W. H. Reid, 1818.

Stoke Place, Bucks. Drawn by J. Gendall; published 1824.

Temple House. Drawn by S. Owen, Esq.; engraved by Geo. Cooke; published by Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe, 1810.

Stowe Church, Bucks. Engraved by Grey; published by S. Hooper, 1784.

A View of the Grotto and two Shell Temples at Stowe.

Statue of King George II. Drawn and engraved by T. Medland.

Stowe House, Buckinghamshire. Drawn by J. P. Neale; engraved by C. Askey; published by W. H. Reid, 1818.

Stowe. Seat of the Marquis of Buckingham.

Stowe House, Buckinghamshire. General View. Drawn by J. Neale; engraved by T. Matthews; published by J. Neale, 1818.

A View from the Island Seat of the Lake of the Temple of Venus and Hermitage. Printed for Jno. Bowles and Son.

Doric Arch. Drawn and engraved by T. Medland.

A View at the Entrance between the Pavillions in the Gardens of Earl Temple at Stow, in Buckinghamshire. Engraved by G. Bickham.

A View over the Great Bason to the Entrance between the Pavillions in the Gardens of Earl Temple at Stow, in Buckinghamshire. Engraved by G. Bickham.

A View at the Queen's Statue in the Gardens of Earl Temple at Stow, in Buckinghamshire. Engraved by G. Bickham.

A View from Capt. Grenville's Monument to the Grecian Temple, in the Gardens of Earl Temple at Stow, in Buckinghamshire. Engraved by G. Bickham.

A View from the Temple of Diana, in the Gardens of Earl Temple at Stow, in Buckinghamshire. Engraved by G. Bickham.

Wycombe House, Buckinghamshire. Engraved by J. Greig from a painting by W. Hanman; published by Vernor and Hood, 1803.

A View of Walton Bridge, Venus's Temple, etc., in the Gardens of the Ld. Le Despencer at West Wicomb, Bucks.

Weston, Buckinghamshire. Drawn by J. P. Neale; engraved by J. Greig.

Wycombe House, Bucks (from the Temple of Daphne). Drawn and engraved by J. and H. S. Storer.

Wycombe Church (from the Chancel). Drawn and engraved by J. and H. S. Storer; published by Sherwood and Co., 1822.

West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire. Engraved by Ellis from an Original Drawing by Corbould; published by Harrison and Co., 1793.

View of Taplow Woods and Maidenhead Bridge from Cliefden Terrace. Drawn by Josh. Farington, R.A.; engraved by Wm. Byrne, F.S.A.; published 1803.

The N.W. View of Willien Church, Bucks. W. P., Del., 1792.

Upton Church. Drawn by James Hakewill.

The Aqueduct at Woolverton, Bucks. Drawn by J. Hassell; published by J. Hassell, 1819.

A View of the House and Part of the Garden of Sr. Francis Dashwood, Bart., at West Wycomb, in the County of Bucks. Drawn by W. Hanman; engraved by W. Woollett.

A View of the Walton Bridge, Venus's Temple, etc., in the Garden of Sr. Francis Dashwood, Bart., at West Wycomb, in the County of Bucks. Drawn by W. Hanman; engraved by W. Woollett.

A View of the Cascade, etc., in the Garden of Sr. Francis Dashwood, Bart., and of the Parish Church, etc., at West Wycomb, in the County of Bucks. Drawn by W. Hanman; engraved by W. Woollett.

The Temple in the Wilderness. Drawn and engraved by Jno. Greig, 1803.

View from the Alcove. Drawn and engraved by J. Storer, 1803.

The Rustic Bench. Drawn and engraved by Jas. Storer, 1803.

Weston House (from the Grove), the Seat of George Courtenay, Esq. Drawn and engraved by Jno. Greig, 1803.

Door of Water-Stratford Church, Bucks. S. Lysons delt. and fect.

Taplow House. Drawn by S. Owen, Esq.; engraved by W. Cooke.

Temple Harleford. Drawn by J. Farington, R.A.; engraved by J. C. Stadler, 1793.

A View of the Cascade, etc., in the Garden of Sr. Francis Dashwood. Bt., and of the Parish Church, etc., at West Wycomb, in the County of Bucks.

Wycombe House (the Hall). Drawn and engraved by J. and H. S. Storer; pubd. by Sherwood and Co., 1822.

A View of the Walton Bridge, Venus's Temple, etc., in the Garden of Sr. Francis Dashwood, Bart., at West Wycomb, in the County of Bucks.

Weston House, Buckinghamshire. Drawn by J. D. Harding.

North Front of Lord de Despencer's at West Wycombe. J. Donowell, Archt.; drawn by J. Gandon; engraved by T. White.

Upton House. Drawn by Edmund Havell, junr.

Mary, Countess of Buckingham. From her Monument in Westminster Abbey. Pub. by Edwd. Harding, 1799.

Dutchess of Buckingham. From an Original by Cooper, in the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Orford, Strawbery Hill. Drawn by S. Harding; engraved by L. L. Claessens.

George, Marquis of Buckingham. Drawn from the Life by W. H. Brown; engraved by W. Grainger; and published, according to Act of Parliament, by C. Cooke, 1791.

John Sheffield, First Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, Lord Steward and President of the Council, K.G., etc. Drawn by G. Kneller; engraved by R. Grave.

James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos. Published by T. and R. Rodd, 1820.

A View of a Temple near Buckingham. Published by Dighton, 1811.

Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. Pub. by Edw. Harding, 1801.

The Family of George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham. From the Original by Honthurst at Hampton Court. Drawn by G. P. Harding, F.S.A.; engraved by W. Greatbatch.

Humphrey Stafford or Bagot, Duke of Buckingham. From a Picture at Blithfield. Drawn by J. Allen; engraved by W. Bond; published by Philip Yorke, Esq., 1793.

Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, assassinated by John Felton at Portsmouth, Augt. 23rd, 1628. Etched by Richd. Sawyer, from a Scarce Print; published by H. Rodd, 1822.

Duke of Buckingham. Pub. by E. Harding, 1802.

George de Villiers, Duc de Buckingham.

George Villiers, Duc de Buckingham. Drawn by Vander Werff; engraved by Ch. Simonneau.

William Penn. Engraven by Stainer.

Andw. Coltee Ducarel, LL.D. Drawn by A. Saldi; engraved by T. Prescott.

Sir Martin Lister Knight, 1626. Engraved from a Scarce Print in the Collection of Sir William Musgrave, Bart., 1794.

John Reeves, Esqre. Engraved by Thomson, from an Original Painting in the Provost's Lodge at Eton College, by S. Drummond, Esq., A.R.A., 1818. Proof.

Thomas Lord Fairfax. Published by Jno. Scott, 1803.

Sir Gore Ousley, Bart., Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Persia. Engraved by Ridley from an Original Picture by S. Drummond; pub. 1810.

John Belchier, Esqr. Drawn by Humphreys; engraved by Walker; published by J. Sewell, 1785.

Thomas Sutton. Obiit 1611. Engraved by J. Mills, 1820.

Sr. George Villiers. From a Picture by Cornelius Jansen at Strawberry Hill. Drawn by Sil. Harding; engraved by W. P. Sherlock.

John Egerton, Bishop of Durham. Drawn by Gausset; engraved by F. Bartolozzi.

The Pourtraiture of Mr. Joseph Symonds, Late Vice-Provost of Eaton Colledge. Ætat: Suæ 50. Pub. by W. Richardson, 1800.

Rev. Wm. Bull, late of Newport Pagnell. Pub. by Williams and Son, 1815.

Henderson. Drawn by Romney; engraved by Hopwood.

Wm. Smith, Esqr., Late of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Printed by H. Spicer; engraved by Benjn. Smith; pub. by Robt. Wilkinson, 1789.

The Right Honourable Sr. Thomas Smith. Pub. by W. Richardson, 1797.

Thomas Wood, LL.D.

Henry More, D.D. From a Scarce Print by Loggan, prefixed to his Poetical Works. Drawn by G. Clint, A.R.A.; engraved by T. Milton.

Nicholas Monck, Bp. of Hereford, 1660. Obit 1661, æt. 60. Published by Wm. Richardson, 1802.

Matthew Meade, Minister of ye Gospel.

Dr. Samuel Clerke.

William Cole.

The Honble. Thos. Townshend. From an Original Picture in the Possession of Lord Viscount Sydney. Published by Edwd. Harding, 1799.

Mrs. Elizabeth Elstob, born Sepr. 29th, 1683, died 1756. Copied from a Print in her English Saxon Grammar, 1715.

Lady Anne Clifford, the only Daughter and Heir of George, Earl of Cumberland, Ætat 13, 1603. Published by W. Richardson.

Sr. Charles Hanbury Williams, Knight of the Bath. S. Harding, del.; W. N. Gardiner, sculpt.

Sir William Wyndham. From a Picture by Richardson, in the Marquis of Buckingham's Collection at Stowe. Engraved by C. Knight from a Drawing by Gardner.

James Stanhope, Earl Stanhope. Cooper, sculpt.

The Rt. Honble. Earl Howe. W. Ridley, sculp.

The Rt. Honble. Richard, Lord Visct. Cobham, Field Marshal, etc., etc., 1751. Painted by Vanloo; Engraved by G. Bickham, junr.

The Right Honble. Richard Grenville Temple, Earl Temple, Viscount and Baron Cobham, Lord Privy Seal, One of His Majesty's Most Honble. Privy Council, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. Wm. Hoare pinxt.; James Watson, fecit.

A Genealogical Table of the Noble Family of Brudenell-Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, etc.

The Most Noble Puissant Prince, George Grenville Nugent Temple, Marquis of Buckingham, Earl Temple, Viscount and Baron Cobham.

A Genealogical Table of the Noble Family of Grenville-Nugent-Temple, Marquis of Buckingham, etc.

A Map of Buckinghamshire.
Buckinghamshire.
Buckinghamshire. By Tho. Kitchin, Geographr.
Buckinghamshire. The Arms of Buckingham.
Buckinghamshire. Published by J. Cary, 1787.
A Mapp of ye County of Buckingham.
Buckingham.
Buckinghamshire. By H. Moll, Geographer.
A Map of Buckinghamshire, North West from London. Humbly inscribed to His Grace ye Duke of Marlborough, Lord Lieutt. of the County.
Buckingham.
The Honourable George Lee, Esqr., LL.D., one of the Lords Comissioners of ye Admiralty.
A Mapp of Buckinghamshire. London, printed for Ric. Blome.
Langley's New Map of Buckinghamshire. Published 1819.
Buckinghamshire Divided into Hundreds.
Buckinghamshire. Engraved by J. Roper, from a Drawing by G. Cole, 1804.
Ebden's New Map of the County of Buckinghamshire. Divided into Hundreds laid down from Trigonometrical Observations. By W. Ebden. Pubd. by William Cole, 1825.
A New Map of the County of Buckinghamshire, Divided into Hundreds. By Mr. Thos. Dix. Published by William Darton, 1816.
Buckingamia Comitatus vulgo Buckinghamshire. By John Seller.
Buckingham, both Shyre and Shire Town describ., 1610.
Buckinghamiensis Comitatus; Anglis Buckinghamshire.

Proceedings of the Bucks Architectural and Archæological Society,

For the Year 1885.

The Annual Excursion and Meeting of this Society took place on the 25th August, 1885. The gathering included gentlemen from all parts of the county and beyond it, a number of ladies, and the following officers of the Society, viz., the Rev. R. H. Pigott and Mr. John Parker, F.S.A. (Hon. Secs.), Mr. R. Gibbs (Hon. Librarian and Curator), Mr. J. Williams (Hon. Treasurer), and Mr. T. Horwood (Auditor).

The members met at Aylesbury, and from thence went by road to Whitchurch. The first place visited was the site of the Castle of Bolebec. The Rev. G. T. Medd, Vicar of Whitchurch, supplied the following notes on this castle :—

"On the west side of the ancient village of Whitchurch (Buckinghamshire), in Edward the Confessor's time called 'Wicherche,' is the site of the castle built by the great Norman family De Bolebec. The land about was given by William the Conqueror to one of the De Bolebecs, who was some relative of William I. The castle was erected, as far as I can gather, early in the twelfth century, about A.D. 1105, and was surrounded by a moat. The place for the drawbidge is now clearly made out, and part of the moat water is now represented by a small pond near where the drawbridge was. Grove, the historian, calls the site of De Bolebec Castle one of the curiosities of Bucks. The castle was strongly fortified, and had its 'outer baileys,' where the dependents of Hugh de Bolebec and his successors lived. Near the castle there is said to be a Saxon burial ground, but I believe the place taken for a Saxon burial ground is the north outer bailey of the old stronghold. After the De Bolebecs vanished from the scene the old castle was taken possession of by the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, and in the seventeenth century it was much knocked about by the Parliamentary cannon under one of Cromwell's leaders, the De Veres being staunch adherents of Charles I., and it was about this time, 1642, or a year after, that a subterranean passage was discovered leading from the Castle Hill to an old house in the village. This ancient building is called 'The Priory House.' Near the moat of the castle are two excellent springs of water—one called 'The Fair Alice,' for legend says a fair Alice De Bolebec derived much benefit from drinking the spring water. The water still flows away at the foot of the old tree. The castle was partly dismantled after the Restoration, 1662, and it soon became a ruin. Part of the castle walls were used for building walls in the village. There is an interesting account of the noble family of De Bolebec in the Records of Bucks, Vol. I., page 246."

Whitchurch Church.

Before returning to the vehicles the party visited the church (St. John the Evangelist), which was found to well repay inspection. The following particulars of this church, condensed from Sheahan's "History of Bucks," are given :—

"It is a large Gothic edifice (originally Early English, but much altered), consisting of a tower, nave, side aisles, chancel, and south porch.

The tower is embattled, and contains a clock, peal of bells, and a small bell. In the handsome west front facing the village is a deeply recessed moulded Early English doorway, with slender three-quarter columns, foliated capitols, and an architrave with corbels of human heads. Above it is a recessed decorated window, and on each side of it a lofty, well-proportioned niche, with crochets, canopied head, and a short pedestal in the centre of the base. A sculptured bracket for a statue remains in the centre of the window at the bottom, terminating underneath in a corbelled head. In the next stage is a lofty niche, partly hidden by the dial of the clock. The porch is gable-roofed, and has a moulded arched doorway with a niche above it, and another above the inner door. The tower communicates with the nave and aisles by three arches. The arcades of four lofty arches, which divide the aisles, are supported on one side by octagonal, and on the other by circular pillars. The oak roofs are visible. At the east end of the south aisle was a side or chantry chapel, which is indicated by the piscina and brackets still remaining. The pews are regular, and some of the old oak benches, with fleur-de lis ends, remain. The chancel arch is pointed, and on the right is a trefoiled niche. The chancel is Early Decorated, and contains much that is interesting, including the sedilia, piscina, old oak stalls, and fragments of old coloured glass. Lying under the tower are fragments of the wooden rood-screen, exhibiting some rich decorated work. At the east end of the north aisle is a marble tablet (now concealed from view) containing a long Latin inscription to Chief Justice Sir Edward Smythe, who died in 1682. There are other interesting slabs; three brass plates in the floor inscribed to members of the Scott family of 'Crisloe;' and on the north side of the nave a large white marble mural tablet, erected to the memory of Mr. John Westcar, of Creslow, who died in 1833, at the age of 84. On the tablet is sculptured in relief a male figure, leaning on a long staff, an ox standing beside him, and three sheep laid in the foreground. Mr. Westcar was a celebrated grazier, and an ox fed by him and exhibited at Smithfield in 1799, gained the prize, and was sold for £100. It weighed 241 stone, 3 pounds."

Creslow Manor House and Desecrated Church.

From Whitchurch the members proceeded to Creslow Manor House, where they were most hospitably entertained. The Rev. R. H. Pigott having made a few remarks on the history of the place, Mr. W. R. Rowland was kind enough to conduct the visitors over the house. It is of the time of Edward III., but alterations were made in it in the fifteenth century, and further and great alterations took place in the time of Charles I., of which period are the plaster ceilings and some square windows. The crypt or cellar, which is excavated in the limestone rock, excited great interest. It is entered by a flight of stone steps, and is about twelve feet square. Attention was directed to the roof, which is a good specimen of light Gothic vaulting, and is supported by arches springing from four short columns, groined at their intersections, and ornamented with carved flowers and bosses—the central one being about ten feet from the floor. From the crypt the visitors were conducted into the "charnel house" or "dungeon," in which were found human bones and skulls, "dug up" (according to Sheahan) "in the ground around the site of the church." Having emerged from the lower chambers, the visitors were shown the upper apartments, and in ascending the stairs attention was drawn to the fact that portions of the balustrade of the staircase are removable, and the explanation offered on this structural peculiarity was, "that on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth visiting the house, flambeaux were placed in the sockets." Many of the visitors gained access to the tower, from which a good view of the surrounding country is obtained. More than twenty years ago, the Rev. Mr.

Kelke tells us (Records of Buckinghamshire, Vol. I., page 267), four gables were taken down, before which, he says, this old mansion was nearly twice its present size. It has been moated and slightly fortified. The Norman Lord of Creslow was Edward Sarisberi, and at that period from eighty to hundred souls probably lived on the Manor. The Knights Hospitallers had possession of the estate at the time of the suppression of religious houses, but how they became possessed of it is not recorded. Subsequently the pastures were utilized by the Crown, and in 1635 Charles I. granted them to Cornelius Holland, afterwards one of the regicides. At the Restoration, Holland was attainted, and the lands forfeited, eventually passed to Thomas, Lord Clifford, and his heirs male. The Rev. R. H. Pigott stated that Holland desecrated the church, and also that of Quarrendon. The former building stands near the mansion, and the nave is now used as a coachhouse. The last rector, the Rev. Thomas Davis, was presented by Queen Mary, in 1554; and upon his voiding the living at the accession of Elizabeth, that Queen took into her hands the spiritualities of this parish, which were annexed to and merged in the temporalities. When the church ceased to be presented to as a rectory, it is probable the building was disused for worship. The inhabitants have since attended the church at Whitchurch, and buried their dead there.

Before leaving the Manor, Canon Evetts expressed the best thanks of the Society to Mr. Rowland for his hospitable reception, and the favour shown them in conducting them over these interesting buildings.

Sir John Shorne's Well.

The members proceeded by way of North Marston to Claydon. It had been intended to alight at North Marston, and visit the church and Sir John Shorne's well, but as the company were over-due at Sir Harry Verner's, it was decided to omit this part of the day's programme. The following is a summary of an account of Sir John Shorne, which was to have been given at Marston, but was delivered by Mr. Parker, literary secretary of the Society, at Claydon House:—

Mr. Parker, in treating of the "holy well" at North Marston, and its associations, observed that the subject had already been written upon by Mr. Kelke in 1859 (Vol. II. of The Records of this Society), and by Dr. Sparrow Simpson in 1868—9 (*Ib.*, Vol. III.). He related that "Master" (otherwise called "Sir" or "Saint") John Shorne (though never canonized) produced, according to legend, a perennial spring by tapping the soil with his staff, the waters being reported to cure ague and gout. The water, according to the analysis by Dr. Bernay, was "somewhat medicinal," and he (Mr. Parker) had been able to detect a flavour of iron on tasting it while passing through the village that day. Shorne, who was probably a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, was shown to have been rector of Monks Risborough in 1289, and to have become rector of North Marston in the following year. He directed by his will that his body should be buried in the chancel of North Marston Church, and there it was placed in a shrine, to which many pilgrims resorted, the saint becoming greatly celebrated owing to an extraordinary story that he had conjured the devil into his boot. So extensive were the offerings at the shrine that they were related to have averaged £500 a year —equivalent to a sum exceeding £5,000 in the present day—and the present chancel was said to have been built from the money thus realized. The shrine was mentioned in Bishop Latimer's sermon, together with that of "Our Lady of Walsingham," the latter being one in the greatest repute in England. The widely extended popularity of Shorne was shown by his effigy, with the characteristic imprisonment of the devil in one of his boots, being found on the rood-screen in the church of Cawston, Norfolk (*circa* 1450) on that of the church of Gateley, in the same county (*circa* 1480), on

a panel at Sudbury, Suffolk (*circa* 1550), and on a rood-screen at Suffield, Norfolk (*circa* 1450); there was also a representation of the "miracle" on stained glass at Bury St. Edmunds. At the east end of the south aisle of North Marston Church there were vestiges of an altar, probably dedicated to Shorne, whose image had presumably been placed there, for the bracket of a niche at the side of the altar closely resembled the bracket on Gateley screen. The chamber over the vestry was believed to have been used by the priest who had charge of the shrine, which, however (*circa* 1478), was removed to St. George's Chapel, Windsor. At the meeting of the British Archæological Association held on the 20th May last, Dr. Simpson read a paper on a Latin office of Master John Shorne in a MS. at the British Museum found by Mr. E. Scott (Sloane MS. 389). It contained the entire office of hymn, versicles, and responses, and was remarkable as having been composed for an uncanonized man. There was also a copy of verses to be said "when in jeopardy of death." Mr. Parker explained that he had endeavoured to obtain the permission of Dr. Simpson to have the office printed in the RECORDS of this Society, but the reply, which he read, was to the effect that this could not be done, as a copy of the document was to appear in the quarterly publication of the British Archæological Society. It was added that a rood-screen painting of Master Shorne had been found by a friend of Dr. Simpson in Devonshire, and Mr. Parker has since ascertained that the painting is at Woolborough Church, in that county.

CLAYDON HOUSE.

On arriving at Claydon House, the company received a cordial welcome from Sir Harry Verney, Captain Verney, R.N., and Mrs. Verney. They first visited the church, and then entering the house, were very hospitably entertained at luncheon, after which Mr. Williams, the hon. treasurer, submitted his report. He stated that the Society began the year with a balance of £2 3s. 5d. The receipts were—Subscriptions, £43 4s.; sale of books, £1 6s.; sundries, £6 3s.; giving a total for the year of £52 16s. 5d. The payments were—Printing, £2 7s. 6d.; rent, £5; payment on account of RECORDS, £25; odd accounts, £6; sundries, £5; leaving a balance in hand of £8 14s. 4d. That was so far satisfactory that it was a higher balance than last year, but they were not out of debt when they closed the year, as they owed their printer some £15 or £20 for the RECORDS. The present balance was something like £28, which would clear off the debt for the past year, and with the subscriptions which he hoped they would receive before the end of the year, they might look forward to being in a better position. They had a very fair number of new subscribers, and he would mention that it had been contemplated to raise the subscription from 6s. to 10s. They had not really been out of debt for some years, and 6s. was a very small sum for a county Society like this. He thought the committee and members ought to take it into serious consideration whether the higher scale of subscription should not be adopted.

Sir Harry Verney then read the paper written by Lady Verney on Claydon House, which appears in this number of the RECORDS, and which was listened to with great interest.

At the conclusion of the reading of the paper, Canon Evetts moved a vote of thanks to Sir Harry Verney for his hospitality, and for his kindness and geniality towards the Society, which was seconded by the Rev. R. H. Pigott; and, after hearing some interesting remarks from Sir Harry Verney on archæological points in connection with the locality, the members were conducted over the house, and inspected the various treasures of art and literary remains, which make this historic country seat famous in Buckinghamshire. This inspection concluded the day's proceedings.

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Proceedings of the Society, 1883.
Report of General Meeting, 1884.
Rules of the Society.
List of Officers and Members for [1884.

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Proceedings of the Society for 1884.

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The first part refers to books of General Topography, containing Descriptions, more or less extensive, of the County or some parts of it. In continuation of the list, it is proposed to give the names of books relating to the Topography and History (1) of the whole County; (2) of certain Hundreds; (3) of Parishes, or places. To these it is desired to add lists of Civil War Tracts, of Local Acts of Parliament, and of Newspapers.

In order to make the *Bibliotheca* as complete as possible, the assistance of the Members of this Society and of all persons interested in the county is earnestly solicited. Information respecting publications, or articles, in any way relating to the locality, may be forwarded to Mr. Henry Gough, Sandcroft, Redhill, Surrey. It is hoped that at some future time a distinct series of County Notes may be issued, containing references, locally arranged, to articles and passages in journals and other printed books. A third series may contain references, of a similar kind, to MSS. in public and private libraries.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that the information, which it is thus proposed to render easily accessible, will, together with that collected or hereafter to be collected by the Society in its *Records*, be of the highest value as material for a work, which has still to be executed, namely, a complete and trustworthy History of the County of Buckingham.—Ed.

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Proceedings of the Society, 1885.
List of Officers and Members for 1885.

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